361
538 /29 cont./ A legend from Tinmel illustrates the antiquity of such a style. An escaped ram could, it is said, jump there a whole day from terrace to terrace (2).

2. Justinard, La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, p. 119.

Hyperbole undoubtedly, but instructive.

342 Consequently the incertitude is great as to the limits of the /30/ "house." There are, among others, necessities of defense that have inspired this architecture of masses and blocks. But let us take note that the word tigemmi, if it does designate the material aggregate of walled-up cubes, courtyards, horizontal bays, terraces pierced with a square hole, also means, in narrower fashion, the "dwelling," which is only a fraction of it and which itself is sometimes split up further into "apartments," lbyut. This dwelling is one. It is the "opening," tiflut, or even imi, "clearance, outlet," which defines it and gives it autonomy from those with which it is agglomerated. 342 592 613 Properly speaking, therefore, in Seksawa there are no ikhs /agnatic subgroup/ houses, although one can have there, as, for example, in the a. Mh'nd, more or less compact blocks squeezing in the dwellings of one and the same ikhs. But that is a special and nearly unique case. Generally only one part of the ikhs is agglomerated. And the contrast between an architecture that in certain respects remains agnatic and the habitat divided at the echelon of the conjugal family is striking.

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184 Not only do the Seksawa build houses, but these houses are of stones and with stories: fine cause for astonishment for the first observers coming from this "practical Morocco" which the hut afflicts. A more attentive examination will permit shading this evaluation. Up to mid-valley the pisé architecture (1)

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1. E. Laoust, in the work cited above, examines, pp. 295 and 296, the problem posed by this pisé

/32 cont./

361 apart from the others. Naturally, the preoccupations of defense
have prevailed over the conveniences. Even over that of the
water supply. Amsgerdat is perched on the summit of an improbable
cliff. Elsewhere, as at Tasselli, the prehistoric formula
called "l'éperon barré" /barred or pronged buttress or spur/ survives.
But strategy alone has not conditioned the installation.
Sometimes even it is neglected. A bourg like Tuz'z'umt spreads
out without fear. And, almost everywhere, it is the hill on the
bank of the river, the first ressaut of the surface, and not the escarpment,
that is chosen in order to build. Even more than security,
621 people seek publicity. The citizen requires a situation from
where he embraces the perimeter of the cultivations and can follow
361 the movements of each. Woe to the man alone: he is a
wicked person. Everything in this rural life has to take place in
the open, to face debate. Two important organs of the village
satisfy this preoccupation: the site for the celebration of certain
rites, az'allo, and the one where the threshing floors are crowded
together: inraren. Important bourgs also have their forum, the
site of gatherings and dances; this is the asaīs or asarag. In contrast,
there is never found, save in the rarest exception, the
isolated house, the villa patriarchally surrounded by its property,
which is established at the limit of the H'šh'a and the Mtugga.

The Chleuh /Shluh/ does not distinguish the hamlet from the
bourg already almost urban. He always uses the word lmud'a,
"locality," exotic Arabic contribution, with a quite suspect vagueness.
621 As a general rule, there is no coincidence between the political
634 unit, the taqbilt, and the unit of agglomerated habitat.
(In our sector, one finds only one isolated case of it, that of the
613 a. Mh'nd.) Nor with the social unit, the ikhs. Nevertheless it
sometimes happens that elements of all of an ikhs live apart, or
more frequently that the village is split into quarters, as at
T'abya. But what counts is rather the indifference of the habitat
with regard to the social structures and to the agrarian order. The
entanglements of the ikhs-s among hamlets of the same canton,
and of their lands in the different quarters, without any correspondence
with the divisions of the habitat other than this very
complexity, is indeed rather the rule.

/32 cont./

634 Nevertheless, the agglomeration as such can assume significance: this is when the excessive proportions of the taqbilt splinter its ikhs-s into fragments, which will lead a life more and more independent in each of the villages where they are settled, /33/ combined with other elements. So for the division of the Iseqqalen among several villages of the Idma country. It is true that this dispersion does not go very far. Nevertheless there exists a village solidarity, the most complete sign of which is that of the existence of a timezgida: place of worship, if one wishes, not only of an orthodoxy with a singular flavor, but also a municipal circle. The timezgida unit is the one which, with very rare anomalies, might be the best to give information on the average quota of agglomerations in the different cantons. Thus in a. H'adduyws, 21 mosques give an average of 125 inhabitants grouped together. Even this result is appreciably twisted by the existence of two bourgs, Tasa and Fensu, with 300 to 400 inhabitants each. At Idma, 13 agglomerations, one a bourg of nearly 500 inhabitants, Usikis; the average is 160 inhabitants. The only bourg of the a. Mh'nd has some 600 inhabitants: but this is, for it alone, one taqbilt. The Imt'ddan and the a. Musa do not reach 100 inhabitants agglomerated together on the average. In general fashion, as one sees, these units are very small. The problems of structure that this poses will be taken up again. For the moment let us consider two impressions that can draw some vividness from a comparison with other milieus.

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342 An invincible association of ideas links for us the notion of architecture in stone to that of duration, and also of magnificence (1).

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1. Cf. reflections of Vidal de La Blache, Principes de géographie humaine /Principles of human geography/, 1922, on architecture of earth (adobe), p. 150, and of stone, pp. 150 and 154 sq. He sees in the connection of cultivation on terraces and architecture in stone an essentially Mediterranean matter (p. 156).

/38 cont./
425 father, of his own accord, puts himself on equal terms with his
178 sons with regard to the ownership of the ancestal fields. This research
593 in the archives has not been undertaken. But if the present
state of affairs cannot contribute sufficient detail on that,
because the institution is very much obliterated, the acts of this
kind were numerous in the past and seem to reveal a very strong
tendency of the mores.

Such equalization between father and son runs counter to
everything that one could imagine about a patriarchal culture.
584 But it is to this impression that the great individual initiative that
such a society leaves to the young people in the choice of spouse
would already lead. Betrothals are free. They are perhaps sometimes
[178] made in an atmosphere -- grown very pale today however
-- of age groups and communal festivity. They never originate
with the parents. The latter are in general requested by the
young man or the girl to lend to the agreement their intervention,
necessary for a juridical consecration and an integral part of the
ceremonial context.

592 If the unconstraint of the adolescent with regard to his
613 father is such, if the autonomy of the couple stands out so vividly
in the aggregate of the tigemmi, what will the relations of these
conjugal families be with /39/ the larger agnatic ensemble of the
ikhs, defined by a nickname or an ancestor's name? The impression
is that these relations are conceived -- today in any case --
only from the angle of public law. No law, no morality, and
not even good form compels the autonomous citizen, the rrami,
[561] to take the advice of his collaterals. On this point this society
is even strangely disrespectful of /Fig. 4 appears here/ /40/ old
[426] age, veneration of which we would attribute to it. For the collateral,
in nature, is often the usurper or the creditor, intent
upon regrouping the gentilitial patrimony "on his head."

551 Now the individual hardly has a name, if one may say this.
The anthroponyms are incontestably poorer here, less varied, than
in Arab country. More monotonous, and also more fleeting to
hear. Generally, they consist only of brief syllables, the assemblage
of which is rarely original. There is no village so modest

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 57]

/40 cont./

551 that it does not have several Bîhi u Âli, several Âddi u Bella. The combinations of these binomials, where the grandeur of the theophorous Semitic names falls away in familiar abbreviations,
613 all in simple vowels, are poor in scale. It is true that, in contrast to the Arab country, the ikhs always has its designation.
551 This gentilic is generally evocative and sonorous. Its richness and its solidity contrast with the banality of the praenomen, pretty much like the Latin system, but with the difference that the surname, laqab, so common in Arab country, is very rare here.

613 According to the milieu in which they move, the order of ideas to which the speakers refer, larger and larger concentric circles, if I may venture to say it, of identification are effected.
[634] All that one can affirm is that the name of the ikhs avoids all ambiguity and, in order to be intelligible, refers to nothing other than the political unit, the taqbilt. Therefore, from the first step of this inquiry, the force of the ikhs manifests itself. And, simultaneously, other items of evidence, of juridical order or arising in the movements of daily life: cooking, agriculture, comings and goings of each one, establish just as irrecusably the fact that the individual person affirms a totally independent performance, at least in civil life. Perhaps the present stage has driven back into a modest background ancient solidarities drawing their reason for being from war and rapine. The former organization of the patres or "ait Arbâin" is also one of the things about which people no longer like to speak. But nonetheless the impression asserts itself that, if the ikhs is a cadre essential for an understanding of this civilization, of its history, of its fundamental structures, of its magico-religious substrata, of its continuity in all domains, it yields in the mores to the autonomy of the conjugal family, to the aggressive vitality of the individual.

[Idaw Geryun]
619 [Ait H'adduyws]

131 /42 cont./
634 The I. Geryun, with the valley of Uzaga, shelter one of the
● 613 branches of the most authentic Seksawa lineage: the proper descendants
[217] of the kings mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn in the fourteenth
[127] century: the a. D'alh'a, whose family archives will furnish important information for this research.

133 /43/ Ait H'adduyws: "King's Sons"

101 One goes up the Seksawa by way of a dizzy path on the right
634 bank. After Tasselli, one skirts some cliffs of 200 to 300 meters.
487 Then one descends again, to the confluent of Imi y-Ikis, at the
height of which the séguia of the Idma breaks off from the riverbed.
[721] The taking of it has already been done by the a. H'adduyws:
whence a permanent menace and indeed wars of former times.
The path then goes up again. Once the crest has been reached, the Tizi n-Kennas, the panorama of the chain, forming the horizon to the S., lies open at one stroke. It is colossal. The least of these summits, Ras Mulay Âli, Aziwal, Temt'daden, exceed 3,000 meters. At the feet of the traveler, the village of Igersafen, "between two rivers," forms something like the center of a fertile crescent. In fact, two valleys converge there: that of the I. Geryun, descending from the Tichka, where one perceives the grandiose denticulation to the E.; that of the principal branch of the Seksawa, which plunges to the S. and with which our visitor is going to be concerned.

133 The somber landscape of schist becomes brighter. One is
101 now in limestone tending toward pink and blue. The valley opens
634 into esplanades larger than one will encounter in all the rest of
[769] the valley. In the center, a cupola, that of an eponymous saint,
[349] or rather that of the eponym's son, this H'addô u Yûsuf, from
whom the taqbilt is supposed to have descended. Orthographic
[776] snobbery has in fact reacted on the pronunciation. This tends to
[197] impose an a. H'addô u Yûsuf which it readily distorts in paroxytone.
173 Yûsuf would be the own son of Ibn Tachfin the Almoravide.
Fine improbability. A prudent orthodoxy, but of late epoch, has camouflaged in antedating it by a century, by reference to the

/44 cont./
173 archeological tenor. The families issued from the great ances-
634 tor, the a. D'alh'a, occupy several villages and, in the native
619 view, contribute no little in adorning the country with a discreet,
secret, but real touch of authenticity. Vestiges of the past, they
remain the support of a legitimacy depending on the Seksawa,
from which the other founders benefit little or much. A lineage
● [613] authentic and allogeneous, today all are sons of H'addô. Im-
material factors, whose action on these montagnards should not
be minimized, have imposed their truce here: perhaps the force
attached to this saint, yet left out of the rites, almost forgotten,
but who is nonetheless "the great ancestor."

133 It is a completely different impression that is made on the
487 traveler who, leaving the valley, climbs the Tizi n-Tbgurt
(2,650 meters). To his right the Tizi n-Trga opens a difficult
175 but indispensable passage toward the Sous. It is this route that
166 was taken in the course of the last centuries by the invaders
167 coming from the Anti-Atlas to take the place of the old dying
populations. And it is from there that they spread toward the N.
From the flanks of the Tabgurt, several avenues in fact radiate
toward the plain; they have remained the habitat of the new men:
a. M'hnd, a. Lh'sen, Idma. Toward the N. and the N.-W. arch
133 the highlands separating the constitutive valleys of the asif n.-a.
101 Lh'sen. The eye follows their outlines up to the bar of the Bwi-
634 baun; in the axis, at a distance, appears, by means of an open-
ing, the tabular relief of the Dwiran. To the N.-E. descend the
terraces of Agersili. From there, the landscape bifurcates, one
might say, into crossroads. /45/ It is in these divergent direc-
tions that the history of the peoples coming from the Sous is spread
out. Thus one might wonder if the political axis which now coin-
cides with the valley has not changed through the ages.

"Cantons" Par Excellence

101 Here we are in the immured confines of the Seksawa world.
184 And even these people here are no longer Seksawa. They are
634 vassalized Demsira. Last remains of the encroachments made by
619 their people at an unknown time on all the lower Seksawa, up to

[Iguntar]

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101 /*45 cont.*/

184 the moment when new and brave men from the far Sous liberated
634 the old ground with the help of the saints.

A dizzy descent, from the wooded heights of the Wagrarat,
133 leads to a bed of wells. The torrent of the Iguntar passes here.
101 They have their two villages: Tagenza and Tannammert, "the
634 fronton and the adret," planted at mid-cliff. At Tagenza, ruins
361 of an agadir, "granary-citadel," the only one of the country with
619 that of Ikis. The Atlasic arête is welded to the last counterfort of the Bwibaun, this long Hercynian wall which closes the Seksawa world to the W. The Arjbib, the Zkkat' have from 2,400 to 2,890 meters. This is the impasse. The Idaw Meh'mud indeed live on the other side of the peak, but it is the other side of the world. Even if the ridge pastures are common, a radical opposition governs the life on the two sides. People turn their backs on each side of the wall.

173 The true relatives of the Iguntar are elsewhere, among the
remains of the Demsira. The old records of this tribe show them
101 regulating by their deliberations interests more or less mingled
634 with those of the Irohalen, thus largely running over toward the
619 Tizi Umachchô. Their legend mentions a founder hero and great
[538] ancestors who built the countries *bnan timizar*, an expression of
[613] substantial exactitude. Their nine séguias and their five *ikhs*-s
interlace rights and facilities in a system of distribution of water
[312] and land. There remain to us reports of proceedings concerning an allotment which was formerly carried out and followed by collective feasting.

634 The same archaic and secret life, the same Arcadian life,
184 with the ancestral wisdom, the same energetic submission to the
laws of the country and of the economy also strike you in another
619 *taqbilt* of the high mountains: the a. Mh'nd. Between Iguntar
[181] and a. Mh'nd, similarly with their backs to the high axial ridge, are crouched other cantons, formerly conquered or reconquered by the Seksawa over the Demsira: Wanz'id and Iwulla. But these are drawn downstream by their solidarity with their brothers of the branch conquering the a. Lh'sen.

/60 cont./

174 some/, to the very one against which they rebel. Veritable archeological excavations are necessary in order to recover something of the original structures under many layers of elaboration. The exploration is worth being attempted. Because it has available here something very nearly unique in North Africa, the thread of a continuity attested to by the identification of the places, the chronological cross-checkings, finally a tradition.

000 A bitter and violent tradition: the mountain grants asylum to the unsuccessful pretenders, conspires in all the intrigues, seizes the occasion for all the bad blows, brigandage, rebellions, sorcery. By that it restrains itself from all positive hope. It only wants -- but it wants this obstinately, heroically -- to conceal from any intrusion its petty internal quarrels and perhaps the unconscious nostalgia for the great things that might have been accomplished. In that it finds its freedom. It safeguards, in its exiguous cadre, a kind of methodological greatness. Vein, improverished, but unfailing, of the life of the oldest Maghreb.

Internal Sources

a) Morphology of the groups...

128
174 Let us not ask anything else of this distant past. The only
175 thing that counts for us here is the historical background of the
realities that we are going to investigate. But if we renounce, and for cause, the lessons of the great history from which the Seksawa have been cut off for half a millennium, it is in order to resort to another series of documents, these internal and of an
619 unhoped-for richness.

634 The present structure of a *taqbilt* is a catalogue of origins.
128 No less than its historical permanence, its heterogeneity is a key
to explanation. It subjects the alleged genealogies of the differ-
613 ent *ikhs*-s, among which it is divided, to the incessant competi-
173 tion of rival claims and to the criterion of practical applications.
619 The economy thus comes to authenticate these traditions. If they
/61/ retain, for the oldest part, some legendary imprecision, they

/61 cont./

613 173 619 no less withstand a rigorous critique: indeed, the critique that springs from the necessities of agricultural work and of vehement claims. They have therefore plunged, at the very least for the last two or three centuries, into an atmosphere of a singular objectivity. Finally, it is these very legendary origins that convey a collective option infinitely more informative for our purpose than the dry chronology.

173 619 [101] Let us look at the a. D'alh'a for example. Their habitat is today dispersed in three places, on both sides of the sacred place of Z'init'. They present themselves as descendants of the eponymous hero Amer u H'addô, historic personage of the fourteenth century. Their tradition therefore bridges the present epoch and that of the agellid-s. One of their branches, the a. Sefyan, in the middle valley, is reputed to be of Arab origin. Is its name a fossil of the relations that the montagnard kings maintained with the Sofyân of the plain? How precious this fossil would be!...

[423] In many cases, the initium of the arable lands, that is to say, the privilege of taking them in hand under good auspices, before everyone else, is reserved for these old families, even if they have not kept any political or economic prestige. Such, moreover, is not the case for the a. D'alh'a, proud of their kinship with those whom they call Baba Âmer and who lay claim, with general consent, to their quality of Seksawa of pure stock.

634 613 619 How can a whole taqbilt, that of the a. H'adduyws, which itself interprets its name as "son of H'addô son of Y'ûsuf," reconcile this appellation with the profession, also quite clear, of diverse origins for each of the ikhs-s that compose it, and almost none of which go back to the eponym? We are alluding to an apparent contradiction there. But it is almost only style. It conveys the importance of classificatory names in a system where they scarcely retain any positive content any more. And, on the other hand, it expresses the difference in nature between the social cell, the ikhs, amenable to precise successoral connections, and the political cell, composed of subgroups that are most often not united to one another by any kinship tie, even fictive.

/61 cont./

● 613 /128 One may weigh the interest of these investigations of civil status, if I may venture to say it, bearing on each ikhs, its origin, its character. Their most immediate result, one will see some examples of this below, is to reveal an extreme complexity in groups presenting themselves today as units.

/62/ b) Familial archives...

212 613 A second source, no less rich and more propitious for the usual methods of erudition, is offered by the family archives. This society is enamored of the written word. It is indeed rare [415] if each one does not save old papers, put in a "goatskin," tawulkt, or more rarely in a chest. They are rolled in volumen. One slips them into a cylindrical box made from a piece of reed. In this dry climate, preservation is almost indefinite. Still rare for the dates before the beginning of the sixteenth century, these documents become more and more frequent starting from this epoch. The great families preserve them by the thousands. [691] Merely their inventory, drawn up at the time of legal disputes between heirs, sometimes occupies several pages. Inexhaustible contribution to research, for which they reserve the most unhoped-for windfalls. To be sure, it is protected by its difficulties of access and of deciphering. These illegible scrawls are jealously kept from the gaze of others, a fortiori from the outsider and the administrator, for they conceal, if not powers, at least an intimacy that one wants to safeguard against any hold [195] over one. Worn and often faded writing, drawn up in a notarial language studded with barbarisms and idioms, their utilization generally requires the help of scholars of the country, alone capable of interpreting them.

Be that as it may, they constitute an inestimable source on the juridical, hence economic and social life of these olden times. From generation to generation, one can follow there the same names of ikhs and thus cross-check the traditional structure of the group. Beyond these verifications of civil status, they allow retracing quite surely the estate formation of the valley lands during the last two centuries at least. One can draw from

/62 cont./

212 613 them elements for the history of the prices. Finally, the acts of public law, which abound, notably in the heavily stocked genre of codifications, throw bright flashes on a past for the knowledge of which one was often reduced to conjecture.

The forgeries, of course, abundant. In many cases, one succeeds in revealing the deception, indeed a gross anachronism. But this suspicion is not of very great importance for our research. Because the forger, eminent stylizer and amateur interested in archaism, is himself valuable as a document.

c) Chronicle

175 [173] A third source is that of the chronicles properly speaking. To tell the truth, one finds them only rarely among the Seksawa, and most of the native historiography is constituted there /63/ by oral traditions. But these traditions are precise, and quite often dated. One will judge them by long extracts. Nevertheless it has been possible to collect several public documents, letters from chief to chief, even annals in a certain case: the commemoration of a disaster of the Seksawa.

212 175 The ensemble of all these sources, morphological, annalistic, and archives, forms a documentation of a precision to which the past of the Maghreb has hardly accustomed us.

Refection of the Montagnard Groups By the South

The False Autochthony

166 Montagnards, Sedentary. One cannot always banish the temptation to fix them on their rocks sub specie aeternitatis.

[829] But the first result of the analysis is that they are immigrants, and that, a more instructive fact, they have no constraint about acknowledging a foreign origin (1).

1. R. Montagne, "Aghbar ...," Hesp., 1927, pp. 1 sq., has already noted this paradoxical allogeneity. Today the fact is better explored

/63 cont./

166 ancestry. It is to exist together, when one has come from so far,
829 when one would have so many reasons not to be here. Style,
one might say, is in the success of the adjustment, in its difficulty, sometimes even in its singularity. One does not pose as the handsome son from the Orient, but rather as the crafty little bastard who fits in his proper place.

166 There is a nuance whose analysis is difficult to push further
829 for the moment, under penalty of twisting it. But it /64/ thrusts
itself upon anyone who enters, with the montagnard, into this
182 discussion on unity in the multiplicity of origins, which is the
preoccupation, the pride, and the science of the citizen. Let us take care: one feels here, once again since the beginning of this investigation, the action of a synthesis that, in general, is not that of kinship, even fictive, but something more immediate, at the same time more subtle. The frequent contradiction between the name of the taqbilt and the diversity of provenances offers the best beginning for the problem.

First Case

634 /In the original source the following paragraph is printed in
●613 small type./ Here is, for example, the a. H'adduyws. A
621 striking contradiction: the eponym is a historic personage whose
173 lineage has been affirmed for seven centuries in the oral tradi-
619 tion. But they split themselves up as follows:

/64 cont./

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Primary division of the taqbilt into "thirds," ththelth	Subdivision of the "thirds" into subgroups or "great ikhs-s"	Habitat by villages	Legendary origins
1) a. Wasif, "those of the valley."	a. Chaîb.	Uzaga, Igersafen, Tasa, a. Bah'ammo, Targa Ufella.	Immigrated from the Sous, leaving from a center of dispersion which would have been Talat n-a. Tunert, village presently in ruins. [166]
2) a. H'adduyws, properly speaking, likewise called a. Tasa.	a. Lbâz and a. Ggâhi.	Tasa and Fensu.	Came from the Idaw Semlal. Have a branch in Sekrat. There is another ikhs I. Semlal at Ikis (a. H'ammo). To these two subgroups have been agglomerated other ikhs, some of whom are reputed to come from afar: the a. Waffûf (Nfifa); the a. Rrais, the Imzilen (Chyâd'ma). Note the name of the a. Lhint, a name which is found again in Demsira, and where it is necessary to give up finding the Hintata, since, locally, they are interpreted as: People of "steel," lhint. [166]

/See p. 89 for the rest of the chart./

[Ait H'adduyws]

/64 cont./

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[166]

3) Idaw Geryun (in reality autonomous taqbilt).	a. D'alh'a.	Tinerghat, Rektwasif, Uzaga, Wawensawt.	Descendants of the eponym, the only ones to claim the ancestry.
	a. Messedut.	Alus.	Came from Sidi Mh'and u Ghâzi, near Taroudant.
	a. Buzid.	Rektwasif.	Came from the Idaw Zeddut.

/65/

Integrated into the preceding	Different branches	Habitat by villages	Legendary origins
Residual populations	Ikessan.	a. Bah'ammo.	
	a. Ish'aq.	Fensu.	Ikhs-s of the Idukkalen and of the a. Umetjar.
	a. H'oggwa.	Mtili.	Reputed to have come from the H'mer. But their name is that of a great "league" of the Sous. [166]
	Iqorran.	Ighelmellen.	Unknown origin, first occupants chased out by the I. Geryun.
	a. Sâid u Buzid.	Ikis.	Unknown origin.
	Igurramen.	Imi n-wasif.	"Marabouts" of Mtugga origin. [792] [166]

[Ait Abdella]

/65 cont./

Second Case

634 /In the original source the following two paragraphs are
619 printed in small type./ The one of the a. Âbdella (1),
of the lower valley. Their name calls to mind that of a famous
[167] agellid of the fourteenth century. But, by the same contradiction
turned up in a. H'adduyws, the avowed origin of the different
ikhs-s is not even attributed to the Seksawa stock. The thing is
complicated here by an instability of habitat and by an uncertainty
peculiar to these marginal populations. Invasions, infil-
[175] trations, conquests, revolts, submission to the power of the plain,
in brief, destruction internally or externally, were repeated all
173 during the past. Legend, confirmed by the old land titles, has it
that the a. Âbdella succeeded the former Demsira occupants here.
634 During a period that we shall try to determine, the latter, spread
619 out well beyond their present sector, held the lower valley of the
Seksawa, up to Bul^{c}wân exclusively, and that of the asif n-a.
619 Lh'sen. To the E. they went up to Taddert of the Dwiran.
634 In the case of the a. Âbdella, whose whole history indicates
vulnerability and who, upon contact with the plain, already lost
[178] many of their old characteristics, the taqbilt is not divided into
subdivisions like the "thirds" of the a. H'adduyws. Here, it is
621 the village that plays the role of political unit -- which the
mountain denies it. In each village ikhs-s abound, each of
[613] which has its legend of origin.

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[195] 1. I thus note, very approximately, the local pronunciation of the name of this group, which differs appreciably from that of the name of an individual, Âbdelâ, corresponding to ar. /Arabic/ ^{c}Abd Allah.

[Ait Abdella]

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Villages	Names of ikhs and traditional origin
Bul^{c}wân	a. Lkhil, came from Tiddrarin (Sous) by way of Sidi Âli Iz'm (Dwiran).
	a. Si Mh'and, "companions" of the first ones.
	a. Sidi Ghânem, descendants of the saint, who has another tomb in H'âh'a. It would have originated from the Ud Âzzûz (Ud. Bessebâ^c).
	a. Wammern, descendant of the saint (Ammeln).
	a. Lmchari (Iberhan, Demsira).
	a. u Feryad' (Iberhan, Demsira).
	a. Bihi u Sâid (autochthons; would be on the way to extinction).
	a. Belh'âjj (autochthons; would be on the way to extinction).
	a. u Sâid Bennaçer (Jews converted by the Nâçirî?).
	a. Naçer, came from the a. Wagenna (Seksawa).
	a. Benjâa, came from Tizzgi (Gedmiwa).
	a. u. Kherraz (Idaw Z'al).
	a. Bujmâ u Âlla (Idaw Merzug, Mtugga).
	Ichkajjen (Idaw Mh'mud).
Ilutjan	a. Lâneyt, came from Iferks, in Intamlin (Mtugga).
	a. Lh'achum, from Imintanout (Nfifa).
	a. Warrah'man (Mez'ud'a).
Tizi Wargyun	a. Wammern "marabouts" of Ammeln (Anti-Atlas).
	a. Lh'âjj (?).
	a. Warrah'man (Mez'ud'a).
Talat u Qyar	a. Sâid u Bella (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban).
	a. Iddar (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban).
	a. Bihi u Ali (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban).
	a. Skella (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban).

/See page 92 for the rest of the chart./

[Ait Abdella]
[Ibubanen]

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/66 cont./

Tuz'z'umt	Ih'ançalen, "marabouts" of Ah'ançal (Moyen Atlas). a. Lqaid, subgroup including: a. Lamghba, a. Bella u H'fid', a. bu Tefsut, a. Lh'sen u Ali, a. Bihi u H'fid, a. Chcheikh H'med, all having originated from the Sous like the a. Si Mh'and of Bulᶜwân. a. Wanz'id' (high a. Lh'sen, descendants of Sidi Musa). a. Buhadi (Iberhan, Demsira). a. Mançur (Dwiran). a. Burjal (Dwiran).
Agawz	a. Buâbila (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Lqçir (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Sâid u Mh'and (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Lihran (same origin as the a. Lqaid).
Tiburin, Imi n-tghli	Regraga "marabouts." Ih'naychen (Dwiran). a. Kawsir (Dwiran). a. Jâa (Dwiran). a. H'med (Dwiran). a. Moh'ammed (Dwiran). a. Si Brik Wakrim (Dwiran). a. u Nd'd'am (Dwiran).

619 /67/

Third Case

634 [101] [312] [142] [181]

/In the original source the following five paragraphs are printed in small type./ The third case will be that of a disinherited aggregate, the Ibubanen, plur. of Abuban, fem.: Tabubant (in the Arab documents, form: al-Bubânî), occupants of high declivities between the Amudder and the Ameznir. A country mutilated on all sides by its neighbors, without permanent streams, and almost without wells or springs. Their physical type from the very first contrasts with the unconstrained demeanor, the

[Ait D'alh'a]

/68 cont./

634 Only a tiny handful of families are Seksawa in origin: a
619 high-mountain group, the a. D'alh'a, and in the middle valley
a branch of the a. Musa. Here is how this latter taqbilt is composed, the habitat of which is situated immediately downstream from the sacred place of Z'init', and which from this fact presents a certain importance. Its name, like that of the a. Âbdella,
634 is connected with the royal dynasty. In detail, it is split up as
632 follows:

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Subdivision	Ikhs	Habitat	Origin invoked
Half from above	a. H'aqqi.	Tabradjut-Agadir.	Sidi Âmer u H'addo.
	a. H'amed.	--	Came from the Sous, with the Idma.
	a. Mzird'ad'.	--	They are from the residual a. Gasa.
	a. Jjaw.	--	Came from the a. Zemlal (a. H'adduyws).
Half from below	a. H'sayn.	T'abya.	They are from the residual a. Ish'âq.
	a. Khaled.	--	Sidi Âmer u'Haddo.
	a. Ichchiyaân.	--	Demsira, "clients" of Sidi Mh'and.
	a. u Gella.	Iger n-ssuq.	Dwiran in origin.
	a. Lâsri.	--	Ad'erd'ur (Idma).
	a. H'fid.	--	a. ba H'ammo (a. H'adduyws).
	a. Wammern.	--	Descendants of the marabout sidi Mh'and.

634 Thus the aggregate here is again composite. And neverthe-
184 less in this section of valley immediately below Z'init' there has
101 maintained itself /69/ a branch of true Seksawa, a branch of the
619 "King's sons." They share this privilege of authenticity only with

/69 cont./
423 family of this ikhs, that of the present amghar, even advanced
166 on this side. It is not surprising that in this expansion there might
619 have been a very deep feeling of recovery, of reconstitution of
traditional ensembles. Such a hypothesis is not contradicted by
the explanation given today of the simultaneous presence below
T'abya of original owners from three groups: Idma, ait H'ad-
duyws, and Dwiran. This coalition drove out the Demsira and
divided their lands among themselves. But it is customary that
these recoveries bring about re-establishment of legitimacy: their
619 archeological value is therefore probable.

173 /70/ Legendary origin of a part of this peopling, going back
to the ikhs of the a. Khaled, that is, to the a. D'alh'a, that is,
[613] to the oldest Seksawa lineage -- or land distribution; there is an
incontestable fact there: the symmetry of both sides of Z'init'.
And a symmetry of which the most "legitimate" of the Seksawa
are the agents. In this sense, it makes little difference whether
this symmetry is an old vestige or arises from a recent restoration;
the second hypothesis would perhaps be the most instructive.

Import of This Immigration From the South

166 The conclusion to be drawn from analyses that one could pro-
613 long indefinitely is that the great majority of the ikhs-s composing
619 the Seksawa today originate entirely from immigrants, and not
from the authentic lineage, even though the latter is still repre-
sented and benefits from tokens of mystic and landed-property
legitimacy.

This immigration comes from the South.

166 /In the original source the following four paragraphs are
printed in small type./ No doubt we have turned up here and
there an immigrant from the N. The case is particularly clear
in Ibuban, where this origin gives rise to an instructive etiology.

173 The country of the Dukkâla was subject to a frightful tyranny.
166 One day a man received a visit from a soldier, who demanded
619 hospitality. This man was poor. He owned but one chicken,

[Idma]

/75 cont./
173 documents, and as historical in the matter as is possible. The
175 Idma of the Seksawa claim to be attached to these Awlād sidi
619 ᶜAt'a'illah shorfa. With respect to this, they exhibit a copy of
an attested affidavit of ṣafar 1087 (1676), a copy verified several
times, the last of which in 1178 (1765).

173 According to this genealogy, sixteen generations ago, an
175 immigration from the Anti-Atlas brought five sons of a sherif of
175 the Anti-Atlas, Sidi Yah'ya b. Muh'ammad Maghagh (2),
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to Usikis, from where they spread out through conquest. They
bear archaic names: Jannūn, Aftūn, Danūq, Ghazāl, Isān, for
which the oral tradition, at this same place in the genealogy,
substituted five others, of Arabic aspect. Characteristic doublet.
The arrival of the emigrants marks the crossing of a threshold,
beyond which normality reigns. The unknown, the sacredness,
the oddness -- or the authenticity -- of the appellations remains
in the beyond, in a legendary murkiness. To these five immi-
● [613] grants are linked the present ikhs-s of the Idma, whose identity
can be followed almost confidently through the three centuries
covered by their archives. The descendants of Mh'and populate
Usikis and Ad'erd'ur, those of ᶜAli Usikis and Tasselli, those of
ᶜAbd al-Wāh'id Meghdir and Ad'er'd'ur. Sulaymān is the an-
[176] cestor of the Iborach of Usikis and, in the sixth generation, of the
saint of Assttif, Sidi Lh'sen u Mh'and. He is a historic personage
whose paraph many documents brought forth from our day still
bear. He lived in the second half of the seventeenth century.
One can thus place the legendary arrival of the first Idma toward

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2. Old Berbère name. Ibn H'azm, Jamharat, Lévi-Provençal ed., 1951, p. 462, l. 21, recognizes the Maghāga as the name of a group; Ibn Khaldūn, tr. Histoire des Berbères /History of the Berbers/, t. I, 1925, pp. 171, 232. Cf. on the name of Jannūn, Ibn H'azm, op. laud., p. 43, ll. 10 and 16 sq. (Idrisids).

[Idma]

/76 cont./

361 The other metropolis of the Idma, Ad'erd'ur, is built at the
619 bottom of a pit that an acropolis dominates toward the S. This
agadir was the seat of an old habitat. The persecutions of spirits
depopulated it: the devil was at work in the houses. The people
were truly delivered only by the intervention of Sidi Lh'sen b.
[777] Bubker. Still today, this side is called unlucky and is hardly in-
[613] habited any more except by the ikhs of the ait Lqaîd, which leads
a life apart. The present village groups its houses in front of the
agadir, on a versant exposed to the S. Downstream, another rock
in the form of an acropolis, rising in the very bed of the torrent,
the Tansmert u Rrumi, passes as having been a fortress of the
Christians, former occupants of the valley. At its summit a
block of several tons rests in balance. Two others rear a black
silhouette that seems to look downstream. A country of dark
legends, of cruel memories.

173 At a time that one can put at the beginning of the eighteenth
619 century, the Idma were still reduced to this small canton, re-
doubtable, however, by their arms and appetite. Nevertheless,
[795] on the other side of the Seksawa, the zaouia of Assttif had already
[796] been rendered illustrious by a national saint. Between the two,
covering the main valley up to Z'init' and the affluent valleys up
to Assttif on one hand, Wanchkrir on the other, reigned the a.
Gasa. The history of the Idma, land development, expansion of
groups, and structure of the command, is henceforth linked to the
expulsion of the "usurpers."

/77/ Still today, popular tradition goes back to this period
when the Idma were reduced to two villages and when, either
concurrently or alternatively, two lineages, coming from two sons
of Maghagh, exercised power. The first two chiefs that are cited
are, toward the end of the seventeenth century, Brahim u Jâa
Rryun of the ait Uchâwi and Wakrim u Sâid of the Iseqqalen.
173 They fought against the a. Gasa. The latter invited them to a
721 "banquet-palaver," tiwilt, and massacred forty Idma by surprise.
619 Fortunately the two chiefs were warned by a woman who signaled
to them from the top of a rock that there would be killing. They
pretended to have forgotten a piece of clothing and slipped away.

[Idma]

/77 cont./

173 721 619 It was a good thing that they did. The woman who had saved them is not identifiable: perhaps it was Lalla Aziza. For the saints conspired in this war of feints and plunder. The scene of broken hospitality is frequent in the past of the mountains. Its color, its cruelty evoke the oldest Mediterranean mythology.

[175] [423] The struggles against the ait Gasa continued throughout the eighteenth century. It was starting from 1214 Heg. = 1798 that their elimination was accomplished. That was the time of the great landed-property transfers. Z'init' was freed, the valley occupied first by conquest, then by purchases, according to the classic procedure. Below what the geologists call "the capture of Agersili," another important bourg henceforth enters into Idma history: Wanchkrir.

361 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ This village is arranged in two superposed masses. The one below, on a rocky peak, bears, with the habitations, the ruins of a fort attributed to the a. Gasa. The one above, from which is separated the block of the château of a contemporary great chief.

621 613 619 The population is a veritable rabble. Here is how it is split up, ikhs by ikhs.

621 619 613 173

Name of ikhs	Legendary origin	Comments
a. Ikru, "those of the kid."	Contemporaries of the a. Gasa, but came very anciently from Tafrawt of the Anti-Atlas.	Have the agricultural initium.
a. bu Idder.	Came from Iger n-Tiqqi (a. Gâir).	
a. u Baggo.	Came from Anzammer (Mtugga).	
a. bu Bah'li.	Vestige of the a. Gasa.	
a. Uchchen.	—	
a. Khunch.	Idma, came from Tasselli. Iseqqalen from Usikis.	These are the only two conquering branches.
a. Wakrim.		

[Ait Lh'sen]

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/86 cont./ It^A is divided as follows:

Traditional ancestor	Subgroups	Ikhs	Villages
Musa.	a. Mençur.	a. Sâid.	Awines, Ighilan, Butaghradin.
		a. u Chelh'.	Agadir.
		a. Naçer.	—
		a. Amer.	Awines.
		a. Bnniya.	Iwulla, Tug u Lkheyr.
		a. Mulid.	Iwulla.
		Ikhwawn.	Iwulla, Wanzid'.
		a. Mh'and u Bujmâ.	Tabradjut.
		a. Lechger.	Tamesdakht.
	a. Daud.	a. u Zarra.	—
		a. u Mâli.	Awines.
		a. u Sus.	Awines.
		a. H'ammô Ali.	Agadir, Ighilan.
		u. H'ammô.	Ighilan.
		a. u Addam.	—
		a. Skiwt.	—

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[172]

/87/ The a. Lh'sen conquest takes place in several phases. First, they occupy an agadir, the ruins of which still exist in a. Mh'nd. Then, they invade the high canton of Iwulla, separated from the Idaw Mh'mud by a ridge of 3,000 meters. They complete this occupation by that of Wanz'id'. All snatched from the Demsira. The legend renders well the epic cruelty of these struggles.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ At this time the a. Lh'sen were occupying only Iwulla. One of them had married a Demsira woman from Wanz'id'. His father-in-law asked him for several beams in order to construct a terrace. His son-in-law carried them to him up to the col that separates the Iwulla from Wanz'id'; the Demsira man then proclaimed that his demand only had the aim of humiliating an a. Lh'sen. The son-in-law said nothing, but called for a general invitation of the Demsira to Iwulla, a tiwilt, "banquet-palaver."

A, [i.e., the Ait Lh'sen--Analyst]

[Ait Lh'sen]

/87 cont./

173 619 The guns of the guests, confidently put down at home, each had oil in the barrel. In the middle of the feast, the a. Lh'sen began to massacre the Demsira. The latter, taking refuge at the home of the son-in-law, were not able to use their guns, and the son-in-law helped to get rid of them completely, including his father-in-law. The group spirit was stronger than the nasab spirit for him: that is the meaning of the anecdote.

174 619 [613] [172] [312] From the Iwulla-Wanz'id' ensemble, the a. Lh'sen continue their expansion. First over the Demsira. There still exists a Demsira ikhs in the present a. Mh'nd, as well as traces of an old séguia that put this village in communication with Iwulla. Trace of an old solidarity. At what approximate epoch did the second leap of the conquest take place? We find an indication perhaps in the fact that the a. Lh'sen remaining in Iwulla had sidi Bubker u Sʿaid of the Mez'ud'a as patron, whereas those who emigrated into the low valley had as patron the grandson, sidi Ah'med u ʿAli. This time lag of two generations doubtlessly marks an echeloning in the constitution of the domain. That is to say, respectively, beginning and middle of the eighteenth century. That would roughly correspond to the indication that the first extension was made eleven generations ago. Let us take these approximations for what they are worth. One cannot claim more in the present state.

The second extension carries the a. Lh'sen to the highlands of Ibuban, which will then be retroceded by sale to the present occupants, unless they had thus been returned to the people found on the spot. Let us note, however, that the emigration of the a. Irz'z'i is better placed in the first hypothesis (beginning of the eighteenth century). This former population first occupied a village slightly above Ad'erd'ur of the Idma. First massacred /88/ by the people of Tasa (at Amerdul, people point out the site of a hecatomb, called Az'mu n-a. Irz'z'i), they were then driven from their habitat, overwhelmed by the precipitation of large rocks, which predisposed them to call it ominous, and obliged to take refuge in Ibuban. It is possible that they then asked for and

/123 cont./

241 water. Certainly the torrential descent will carry away the [312] pebbles, demolish the walls, bear off the seeds: but sometimes, too, it respects them. In any case, it wets the soil and deposits silt. A risk to run...

Third type: the dry agriculture, on high brows of hills or forest clearings. It is an important complement of the hydraulics. /124/ But we are too poorly informed on the altitude 243 pluviometry to analyze the conditions precisely. The grain-lands 423 always exceed the mark of 2,000 meters in the Tasila and the Azuran. Rye and barley reach good yields there. That explains • 613 why the competition for the usufruct of these lands is lively. And why it is honorable. It is a competition between communes and between notables rather than between fellow citizens. The distance is a prize for the rich and for the bold. The only one of his ikhs, such and such an individual launches upon valorizations or [621] clearings, which he will support, of course, with titles. Nevertheless the servitude of a community vocation remains keen enough to impose allotment in certain cases. If some of these grounds, like the Tasila, have been very much appropriated, others, like the Azuran of the Imt'ddan, suggest very closely the custom of distribution among ikhs-s. The vocation of each of these is still clearly affirmed, for example, in the albur of the a. M'hnd.

241 423 Elsewhere, and about wherever the forest domain rules, the vivification by clearing or by removing stones will often be invoked as the source of right: the litigant has recourse in this case to the Arabic verb t'uww^c, and then a Mussulman principle, that of "vivification," in fact works for him. But to what extent is it an old institution? It is difficult to specify it. Perhaps one will find more authenticity and, at the least, originality in the customs governing certain plains of the Dir, on both sides of Imintanout. When the season arrives, a race to the tillage is organized. The first one who marks the furrow has the enjoyment of it for the year. In Seksawa, although it nowhere functions in the manner thus avowed, this practice is implied in everything that arises out of the notion of "communal" muchā^c.

/127 cont./

241 the market-gardening or cereal objective. Many varieties, indicating initiative and individual possibilities, come to diversify here, like the deposit of manure, the continuous and homogeneous band that the bench supports. But that will be evident only with the results, after sprouting. At this moment, as one has seen, the marks of appropriation are buried under the verdure, but the ensemble seen from above gives the effect of a patch of scales. The shades of green, like the germinative power, differ according to the subjacent property. A practiced eye can then decipher the whole network of land.

Thus the hierarchy of organs described above is formed in this way from the base (1):

1. For the Chleuh /Shluh/ nomenclature of these different forms, refer to our "Glossaire notarial ... /Notarial glossary .../," R. afr., 1950.

-- the square, first technical unit;
-- the irrigation bed, grouping several squares (optional);
-- the parcel, first cell of land, grouping several beds or squares;
/128/ -- the quarter, topographical, social, and technical unit at the same time, grouping a certain number of parcels served by one intake on the ditch, but possibly spreading over several benches;
[423] (613) -- the ground, topographical and political unit: a piece of landscape appropriated by the agriculture of the group, and distributing, as one will see, among the different quarters of which it is composed, a well-regulated sampling of the patrimonies of the ikhs. This ground is itself fashioned into "countries," with the habitat of the group, put together or cut up, and its hold over the soils and plants, more dense in the bottom of the valleys, more scattered in the ilburan (plur. of albur) that vertically hang over the village, embedded in the montagnard silva.

/136 cont./

4. Idma:

241 The a. Ilarzg of Usikis have the initium for putting water in
796 the ditches. The Iseqqalen abstain from all enterprises on Mon-
619 day: one time when they intended to climb to Agersili on this
634 day some of their girls died. The a. Ikru of Ad'erd'ur and of
184 Wanchkrir open the tillage. Here is why. For six years the Idma
[613] had remained without rain; others say seven years. The ikhs-s
took turns watching for clouds on the horizon. When it was the
turn of the a. Ikru, rain fell, to the general delight. Whence the
present practice. The ikhs-s that open the tillage in the other
villages are: for Usikis, the a. Ilarzg; for Taselli, the a. Lh'sen.

5. In Imt'ddan, the a. Uchikar open the tillage and put water in the ditches. The ait Ubaqa slaughter the cow of Lalla Aziza.

6. In ait Mh'nd, the a. Bakhkha open the tillage.

7. In ait Musa, no qualification of this sort.

8. Ait Lh'sen:

[782] Wanz'id'. Tillage: a. H'sayn; irrigations: sacrifice to sidi
Lwâli on the first Friday in March; harvest: a. Mulid; war: a.
Berka.

Buteghradin. Tillage: 1. a. Messâud (Sunday); irrigations ditto; harvest: ditto.

[541] On the morning of the yenneyr, battle between ikhs-s by
[613] blows with clusters of nettles.

Agadir. Tillage: a. Naçr (Sunday); harvest (ditto); irriga-
tion: a. Hammo; jumps into the fire the night of amâchur.
[541] Battle by blows with clusters of nettles.

Awinas. Tillage: a. Amar; harvest ditto; irrigation, a.
[578] Umâli. Aspersions between ikhs-s on the morning of amâchur;
[262] dinner of porridge the night of the innair.

[613] Ighilen. Tillage: a. Messâud (Sunday); harvest: ditto; ir-
rigation: a. Lechger. Same custom as above.

Tabratjut. Tillage: a. Mençur (Sunday); harvest ditto; ir-
[578] rigation: a. Ufqir Lh'sen. Custom of aspersions on the morning
[262] of the amâchur and of the porridge the night of the Yenneyr;
[541] battle by blows with clumps of grass.

/136 cont./

241 9. Ibuban:

746 Amasin. Tillage: a. Addi u Lh'sen (Sunday); irrigation: ditto; harvest: ditto; war: ditto.

619 634 Talburt i-yggayzen. Tillage: a. Wakrim Uâli; harvest from the remise of the "Friday" for sidi Mh'and.

184 Tugg Lkhayr. Tillage: a. B̆umellut (Sunday); irrigations: a. Bihi u Addi; harvest: a. Bihi u Addi.

Timskert. Tillage: a. Ali Wakrim; irrigation ditto; harvest: a. Lh'sen Wakrim and a. Âli Wakrim; war: ditto.

[782] 10. Iguntar. Tillage: a. Lâsri (Sunday); irrigation: sacrifice to sidi Mh'nd; harvest: a. Lâsri, war: Ineqqachen.

/137/ 11. Sekrat:

Amsgerdat. Tillage: a. Urjdal (Sunday); irrigation: a. Wârab. Custom of the porridge. Harvest: a. Wârab. Custom of the amâchur; no linen washed, penitence.

F-umazir. Tillage: a. H'emmo (Sunday); harvest: a. Çalh'; irrigation: ditto. Custom of amâchur as above, for the a. Çalh' only.

[783] Tagddut. Tillage: a. Bihi (Sunday); harvest: a. u Lârj (Sunday); irrigations: a. Ukhezzaz; penitence: on the day of amâchur for the a. Bihi.

[783] Tigumma n-Skrat. Tillage: a. Musa (Sunday); harvest: a. Warir (Sunday); irrigation: ditto. Custom of amâchur, penitence of the a. u Musa.

[613] 12. Ait Âbdella. This taqbilt, important in size, wealth, habitat, and numerous in its ikhs-s, does not acknowledge the initium in agricultural matters for any of the latter. Only the a. Wanz'id', descendants of sidi Musa, the saint of the high mountains, bestow good augury in the matter of military expeditions.

121 241 796 A question is posed first of all as to the generality of these practices: a generality in which the nature of the account that ethnographers give concerning them and maybe also the very fashion in which the local informants describe them would lead one to believe. Secondly, what character should one ascribe to them: sacred or profane? A difficult distinction which only a

/137 cont./
121 veritable statistical and philological analysis could undoubtedly
241 illuminate. There is obviously no question of such a study here.
796 Only a few facts have been pinned down, by right of invitation,
in a way, for a specialized study.

241 The qualification of one ikhs to inaugurate certain group
796 activities, agricultural mainly, but also military, is established
in all the high cantons. On the other hand, it is wanting in a.
613 Abdella and a. Musa, which should not be surprising, in view of
634 the harsh history of these two groups, vulnerable to the foreigner.
[184] The initium can thus be ranked, with all sorts of other material
or spiritual traits that have turned up in passing, among the
components of the montagnard physiognomy. A differentiation
appears between two or three ikhs-s, each having its particular
vocation. The richest example is offered by the a. Mh'nd, but
also by many a. Lh'sen villages. These divisions in fact happen
as often at the echelon of the village as at that of the canton, but
one cannot discern the reasons for these inequalities in dignity.
[184] To a certain extent then, the local factor, producing narrow
particularizations, on the scale of the hamlet, for example, lmud'a,
acts on the foundation constituted by a social and political
life whose organ is the taqbilt. Ancient trait, or recent
evolutions?

241 /138/ It is very difficult to discern the reasons for the choice
796 of such and such an ikhs for such and such competence. Naturally,
613 the role of the unexplained is great here, by definition.
[554] Nevertheless the case of the Ih'muchcha in I. Geryun, of the a. Ikru in
Idma, of the a. Bumellut' in Ibuban shows that this choice has
nothing to do with political prestige.

In fact, that is a matter of descendants of conquered populations. It is rather the idea of powers attached to the antiquity in the country, the idea of legitimacy, that is evoked then. In other cases, however, nothing like that. What comes into play seems to be the vestige of former ritual personalities that have become inexplicable. Their etiology is sometimes sought and gives rise to legends. That is the case of the Idma: it remains

/138 cont./

241 exceptional. In most cases, one can only conjecture the motives
796 of the vocations: antiquity, whence legitimacy (theme of the
613 autochthony); holiness, power, or, on the contrary, sanctimonious poverty. There one certainly touches an old, but defaced and almost unintelligible foundation. There remains concretely only a notion of unequal qualification among ikhs-s.

The meaning attributed to this practice of the initium is also unclear. One expects good augury from it: it is the type of very vague benefit that is also attributed to other agrarian ceremonies: those of the yenneyr, of the amâchur, or of this tafaska with a name almost certainly Mediterranean ("la Pâque" /Passover/).
[797] But no more. These practices are qualified as idolatry, açnâm, even by their faithful, who can very well and spontaneously distinguish them from the rites of orthodoxy, from the cult of the saints, or from communal practices.

Here it cannot be a question of analyzing the subjective aspect of these practices. Besides, differences between them are
[782] evident. The libations of ifyed', where they are practiced, owe to the demonologic reference their characteristic precision and liveliness. Whether the interpretation is a good one is another
[541] question. On the other hand, the battles by blows with clods of earth, bunches of nettles, jars of water (1) are in the province of games and tend to affect only the youth in
171 Ṣeksawa, like our carnival. Elsewhere, on the contrary, among the Frûga, for example, the ceremony unleashes the whole community for a day, and the aspersions are mixed with equestrian contests. Everyone has his opinion on these practices. The superstitious, the joker, the strong-willed, the village bumpkin,

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1. Good observations by F. Gorjon, "Les rites du feu et de l'eau chez les Berbères du Maroc /Fire and water rites among the Berbers of Morocco/," Bull. EPM, 1952, pp. 199 sq. (for a region very close to ours).

/From p. 150 of the original source./

312
102
423
613

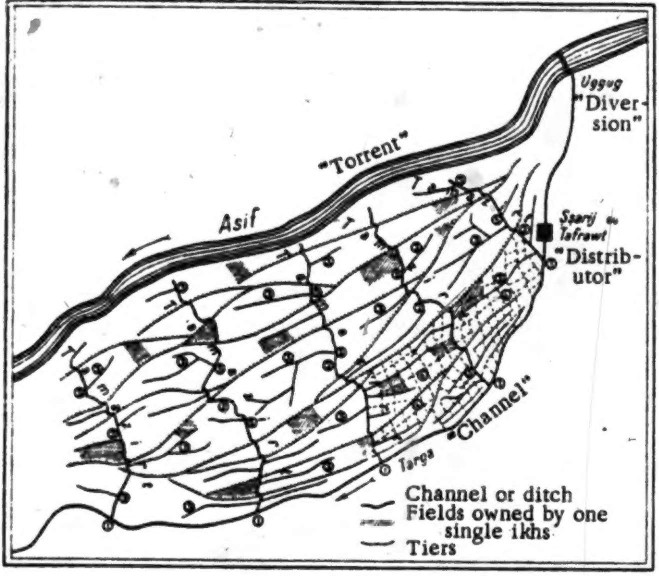
Uggug
"Diversion"
"Torrent"
Asif
Ssarij n Tafrawt
"Distributor"
"Channel"
Targa
Channel or ditch
Fields owned by one single ikhs
Tiers

Fig. 7. -- Schema of the irrigation of a valley ground.

The "channel," *targa*, leaves from the *ççarij*, or *chcharij*, "distributor." It is divided into "distribution ditches," *asaru*, 2, plur. *isura*, which leave from "principal intakes," *açder*, plur. *içdar* or *içdran*, or further *ighin*, plur. *ighaniwin*, 1. On these ditches function small earthen sluices, *taghamut*, 5, plur. *tighuma*, opening on the "discharging ditches," *isura*, 3. Irrigation planches, *tisirit*, *tisaratin*, are themselves divided into a last agrarian subdivision, the "irrigation square," *uzun*, plur. *uzunen*, 4.

/153 cont./

241 178 covered with small bushy growth and fodder plants that have disappeared elsewhere. The land has remained richer and does not affect from afar the glossy polish that shows among the trees of the Mzawt. The decadence of the soils and the ruin of the high fields are obvious in the principal valley. Upstream from Lalla Aziza, a cemetery of almond trees. Downstream, notably near Imt'ddan, visible abandonment of the fields in balconies, which climbed two-thirds of the way to the crest, and the plaques of albur on the elevated brows. A color of the soil, a different vegetation, characteristic "screens" still mark these places. One reads there the effects of a former deforestation, which doubtlessly had a definite cause. There doubtlessly was an accumulated play of natural and human factors to ruin this historic axis of the Seksawa. But beyond individual causes, there is a permanent one for it: the vulnerability of the system. Neither benches, barriers of pebbles and branches, nor ditches of earth withstand a moment of weakness or forgetfulness. The loss of the high pastures soon entails, by the rarefaction of the livestock, thus of fertilizer, the sterility of the soil. Internal discords immediately engender drought through the abandonment of the ditches. This system, skillful but posed rather than anchored on the soil of the ancestors, then submits to the ransom for its precariousness: it dies without even leaving great traces. This horticulture exists only as an exception. Lodged in an eternal cadre that makes one see permanence where there is only ingenuity, it is slave at the same time as ruler of man.

A Distributor Genius

312 Collection; irrigation: between the two, a phase of purely social emphasis, that of the distribution. And all the more essential because the milieu reveals on this occasion a dazzling, an exorbitant virtuosity. One distinguishes at least three styles.

312 613 423 The first method, the one most bound to the montagnard closeness, is that of the gentilitial distribution. Disregarding the losses by infiltration, escape, evaporation, it leads the water to all the fields /154/ of one ikhs, even if they are far from one another. And as a general rule they are. It thus passes over the

/154 cont./

312 613 423 vast intermediate areas that separate them. It is discontinuous in space. It makes the turn of each of the ikhs-s alternate in time and makes it come again according to a periodicity peculiar to each group. This rhythm is naturally a function of the abundance of the debit expected, of the number of the ikhs, and of local preferences for such and such a series.

/The following listing is in small type in the original source./ 1st. The last village downstream to apply this system is Tuz'z'umt. At Tuz'z'umt, in fact, and for that of at least two séguias peculiar to it (the Targa n-Z'alt, from Agawz), the distribution operates in 12 turns of one day each (from ^{c}açr to ^{c}açr), allotted among the ikhs-s. The other séguia, the gigantic Talh'archt, common to all the a. Âbdella, obeys other principles. But from Tuz'z'umt upstream, the gentilitial distribution prevails.

And here are some striking examples, borrowed from the Haut Seksawa.

2nd. In Iguntar there are 9 séguias. That is to say, from upstream to downstream:

t. n-yattuyn, t. n-bu teghradin, t. uzeddar, t. n-ddutgumma, t. ugerd ugadir, t. n-a. Mh'nd u Mh'nd, t. n-tghula, t. u-wrtl n-H'chmad, t. n-tawart.

[525] [634] The irrigation turn is decided by "drawing lots," s-tekchchut't', in the presence of the whole jemâa, among the members representing each of the ikhs-s. This drawing takes place each year. The length of the turns is proportional to a surface evaluated in lengths of reeds, and whose computation is periodically readjusted. An old document -- such at least is its appearance and the inference that its content authorizes, for it is not dated -- mentions probably the last of these computations. The merry-making that followed cost about 50 reals advanced by notables. The division, which still prevails at present, of the water roster into 12 days, accruing unequally to each of the ikhs-s, is fixed very precisely in the document.

But the properties of each of the benefiting ikhs-s are entangled with those of the others. No correspondence between the topography and the rhythm of distribution.

/*154 cont.*/

312 In fact: except for the a. Naçr, who have their lands
● 613 grouped in the immediate surroundings of the village of Tagenza,
423 the 4 other *ikhs*-s are all represented in each of the quarters, but it seems without any definite part where the "parcels" under their jurisdictions are grouped. The entanglement seems to be greater and greater from upstream to downstream. In all the "quarters," except for what concerns the a. Naçr, only two do not group the integrality of the *ikhs*-s: Tamayust and Talâint u-wdi. All the others contain a whole sampling of *ikhs*-s.

3rd. At Fensu there are 10 séguias. Some come from the high valley of the asif Uziwal, others from the direction of Tasa. This abundance of water makes the portion a day and a night. Eleven turns, including that of the mosque. These turns fall to the *ikhs*-s, which divide /*155*/ the water among the foyers in proportion to the surfaces. At the top echelon, which is that of the distribution of turns among *ikhs*-s, the topography does not count for anything, each *ikhs* irrigating in turn its lands scattered over several quarters.

4th. At Tasa, three séguias and two orders of distribution. The one bears on the Imengad' and Anngar séguias, the other on the Ti-n-wammam. Here are each of these two orders:

1) a. Ggahi, a. Badis, a. Mh'nd u Mençur, a. Khald, a. H'ddan, a. Skurin, a. Yah'ya, a. Ch'âib, Izzuhra, a. Mazuz. Plus a turn called ass i-ymengad', privilege, moreover transferred, of the one that regulates the source.

2) a. Badis, a. Mazuz, a. Sâid, a. Lh'sen, a. Châib, a. Izzuhra, a. Berka. Plus Aternaggo (individual privilege).

The irrigation rotates by *ikhs*-s, but within them it is adjusted according to surfaces and gives way when necessary to a drawing by lot, according to the general procedure.

A second method is called *taghamut s-tghamut*, "sluice by sluice." Without concern for appurtenance to the *ikhs*, it irrigates by large pieces that are continuous and contiguous to such and such a sluice. The order observed among them is from upstream to downstream. It is a form of decadence, of rupture. It may be due to either a particular abundance of water, rendering useless

/155 cont./

312 423 [613] the rotation by ikhs-s (explanation given at Lalla Aziza, where this method has functioned for several years), or to an excess of litigations and privative claims, or even to the gigantism of the system.

[627] /The following four paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ The second motive operated in 1949 in the village of Ad'erd'ur, which, in order to cut short a threatening dispute, distributed the water of the Tzemzgart. For the whole ensemble of the network of the Amerdul, a claim of this sort: it has not yet won. The order of the ancestors still holds good here.

The third motive results from the case of the a. Lh'sen.

[613] These conquerors of one of the affluents of the middle valley have preserved a vitality which, by a nice correspondence, is also connected to the relative conservation of their soil, to the consistency of the timbering on the sides, and to the abundance of water. They have 14 séguias, beyond the one that Wanz'id', the highest of their villages, draws from a source peculiar to it. Despite the lengthwise stretch of this whole system, the basis for the distribution is not topographical. Being a matter of an important grouping, the ikhs-s here are grouped into two subgroups, ait Mençur and ait Ddaud, each of the two having each year, alternating with the other one, the privilege of starting. Within the two subgroups, it is the "sluice by sluice" system that functions. The lands of each of the two are entangled the whole length of the valley, from Buteghradin up to Tabratjut, to the confines of the a. Abdella. But this gentilitial system works only on the first four days of the week (starting from Sunday, a day reputed to be favorable in /156/ this taqbilt). The rest of the week, definite portions of the valley receive water: three of them are distinguished. Finally, the distant Tabratjut possesses, with other villages upstream, a special séguia, departing from the place called Ukhriben.

In sum, here there is a combination of the gentilitial system and of the system based on the continuity of several great soles /Fr. sole, in agriculture: expanse of arable land intended for a certain crop in the annual rotation/. The irrigation calendar, which one has tried to represent below, will give an idea of the complexity and at the same time the harmony of the system.

/156 cont./

312 A third method subordinates the irrigation to the evaluation
423 of the amazzal, who judges in a discretionary manner the need
624 that the crops feel for it. In a society of so contentious a spirit,
one is surprised that such a method is possible and does not unleash inextinguishable litigations. There is none of that: there one is on a plane of rural order, prejuridical in a way.

/157/ /The rest of this section is in small type in the orig-
[178] inal source./ It is according to this third procedure that the
Talh'archt séguia, of the a. Âbdella, was traditionally administered until an administrative reorganization intervened only a
few years ago. The amazzal was chosen in the old family of the
[173] a. Lᶜanayt of Ilutjan, whose members still today occupy, on the
knoll of Tigudar Ijjawn, facing the n-Lmakhzen agadir, places that tradition always connects with a "Caid ᶜAbdallah Sseksiwi," doubtless the king of the fourteenth century. These legendary persistences give an idea of the foundations of such a rural order and what forms its solidity.

Indeed, the organization observed in a. Âbdella is undoubt-
[178] edly not a form of decadence. But rather, just as in a. Lh'sen, a
form of amplification. These two taqbilt-s have surpassed the cantonal echelon. Consequently another rhythm governs them.

The Order of Irrigation As Document

312 Moreover, where there is decadence, all the signs do not oc-
423 cur simultaneously any more than they affect in equal fashion the
178 different orders of phenomena. In a. Âbdella, despite the mo-
[613] bility of the landed life, the disaggregation of the milieu, and the
absence of a water roster, a certain distribution of the ground among ikhs-s is still decipherable. As a general rule, however, the gentilitial rhythm of irrigation still exists, when the play of factors of change has distorted the order of the patrimonies. Nearly everywhere the turn for water reveals an old order.

This discordance between the evolution of landed property and the unchangeable cadre of the hydraulics, itself linked to the

/168 cont./
423 the tree is private property (our sector is not familiar with the col-
245 lective argan tree). But the "harvest," azegg^{w}ay, is collective.
Interesting organizations intervene at this time. If, on the landed plane, the orchard is divided into individual lots, the plantation coincides in general, and by great masses, with the part of an ikhs. But dispersion among "quarters" would produce, it is said, irremediable confusion at harvest time if the harvest were not done by collective bans. What is the explanation worth?

Let us take several examples:

245 /The following paragraphs, up to the last one in this section,
476 are in small type in the original source./ In a. Musa, the har-
184 vest of almonds is done quarter by quarter, within limits for which
[624] guardians, imchchurd'a, are responsible. The work is collective
and echeloned. The almonds are put in a pile and then divided "by basket," s-taryalt, in proportion to individual rights, after the shares of the saints and the workers have been subtracted from the pile.

[613] In Imt'ddan, tetrapolis where the initial equilibrium of the
ikhs-s is manifested by a nearly regular land-sampling on all the grounds, the harvest of almonds, done in common, gives rise to the laying of heaps of fruits (20, for example, for the almonds of Tagunit), which are then divided by basket among the ikhs-s and, within these, among those having rights.

In a. H'adduyws, except for recent trees, exploited individually, the whole orchard is harvested collectively and the fruit divided by basket, after, if it takes place, the removal of a fifth
[624] for the work force. The imchchurd'a /169/ occasionally take
turns on watch, as at the outlet of the ravine of Ikis, and thus have the harvest discipline respected.

In Haut Dwiran, the harvest is done by collective ban: one "ties" the valley, qqen. Then one "releases" it, rz'em, zone by
[613] zone. The work is done "by echelonment," s-warrabo, among
the ikhs-s, whose name here is arktun, plur. arktyun. The practice is likewise applied to the gathering of carobs, which are scattered on the ground in September, but no one is allowed to gather them.

/169 cont./

245 These different notes led me to group, with a view toward a
476 general inquiry, the agricultural experts of the Seksawa, and
829 here, just as it is, is the note that I took down from them.

"The orchard is divided into sectors, and no one has the right
[624] to start gathering or beating before the opening of each one of
them, which is announced by the imchchurd'a of the village, or
by the jemâa, according to the classic procedure of the ban.

"The fruits are then gathered by all those having rights to
[613] them and placed 'in piles,' s-igud'iwn. The number of these
piles is equal to that of the ikhs-s: 12 for Fensu, 6 for Tasselli,
etc. Then they are divided by basket among the heads of 'foyers,'
takatin. Recent and individual plantations, purchases or antichreses are excluded from this mode of collective harvest.

"On the third of January, 1949, this description was confirmed by an ensemble of Seksawa cultivators representing the different fractions. Only the term 'family,' 'relatives,' aytma, tarwa n-âmmi, ulad el-âmm, was used by my interlocutors, to the exclusion of the word ikhs. The Imt'ddan custom was declared general. The sheik ^{c}Omar noted the contradiction existing between this mode of exploitation of the trees and the one, entirely individualized, of the earth."

245 Thus nothing is missing from this note. Not even the ana-
476 lytical expression that those interested seek from it, or the surprise
that it begins to cause for the most critical among them. In fact,
contrasting with the individuation of the land law, the community
technique of harvest can only surprise one. Sharp contrast with the
Kabyle society. It is to be noted in fact that it is not just a matter
of a harvest police ordering, as a security measure and in order to
avoid marauding, simultaneity of action. Conventions of this sort
[613] are observed at Moulay Indrîs of the Zerhoun. But here, individual
distribution intervenes only on the echelon of the ikhs and ends at
the collective pile of fruits. It is only a preamble, but a community one, and one cannot underestimate its value as indication or vestige. Even more than the gentilitial atmosphere in which it plunges, let us note the indivision of arboricultural techniques that it reveals. It ends up characterizing a system and a level.

[Ait Mh'nd]

/177 cont./

312 the ground of the a. Mh'nd. The sources, Walmdeyn, Talâint n-tauddwa, t. waman i-ygadern, suffer a diminution of 75% during very dry summers, such as the one of 1951. But this is exceptional. Generally the fall is not so great. A basin, Tafrawt ddu-lma, collects them and distributes them, by an ample system of séguias, to a mass of well-worked fields. The lively waves, the glacial shade of the walnut trees, and the profusion of greenery make a charming coppice in the most torrid of sum-
133 mers. The village, where the *ikhs*-s each have their quarter,
(361) faces the mountain and towers over the mowed meadows, *az'mu*,
[613] a theater wholly denoting an active and original community life;
it is there that people dance and assemble. Dominated, as has been seen, on the side of the Sous by the E.S.E.-W.N.W. barrier of the Ighran, from the Tabgurt (3,205) to the Akyud' n-Zkkat'; communicating toward the S.-E. with the Idma and the a. H'adduyws only by the Tizi Wudud, which opens on the plateaus of the Amerdul; with the Ibuban highlands by the Tizi Unluf; with the Seksawa by a valley with numerous constrictions, this canton has been able to develop an extreme individuality.

General Characteristics of the Population

634 It refers to a former immigration from, it is said, the Ilalen
613 (Sous). But among the *ikhs*-s inhabiting the village today, only
312 two, the a. Bakhkha and the a. Umghar, go back to this origin.
[173] Each of the two forms the essential part of two subgroups: a.
Zbayr, a. Wajmirro, a duality in which the *taqbilt* finds tension and internal equilibrium. /178/ To these two *ikhs*-s are respectively added, but with less dignity and without autonomy in the irrigation distributions, four other lineages of immigrants. The organization of the ensemble presents itself as follows, as the irrigation roster expresses it, with a clearness free of ethnological preoccupations, certainly, but forced to exactitude by its practical incidences.

[Ait Mh'nd]

/178 cont./

634
613
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General division of the group	Subdivision into basic ikhs-s	ikhs-s superadded	Origin of the superadded ikhs-s	Turn for water
a. Zbayr.	a. Umghar.			One day.
	a. u Mbark.			Three days, two of which for each of the partners alternatively.
	a. Abdnnûr.			
a. Wajmirru.	a. Mençur.	a. Umzil.	a. H'ogg^{W}a expelled from Fensu a century ago.	Three days, two of which for each of the partners alternatively.
	a. H'sayn.	a. Lamin.	Demsira from Iguntar.	
		Imzilen.	Came from the Wijjan two centuries ago.	
		a. Lkut'ayn.	Ibuban.	
	a. Bakhkha.			One day.

312 N.B. The basin, called Chcharij ddu-lma, functions only from the rising to the setting of the sun. The irrigation roster covers eight days.

(613) 634 613 173 669 Below, we shall find other details on the irrigation. Let us observe here and now that the order is rigorously gentilitial. The adjunction of new elements, although of an antiquity sometimes exceeding a century, has not at all influenced the dualist structure

[Ait Mh'nd]

/178 cont./

634 that was reflected up to the last times of siba /revolt/ in the
613 political rivalry between the two original ikhs-s: a. Umghar and
173 a. Bakhkha. The former was traditionally devoted to municipal
669 preponderance. The latter, to the agricultural initium. Neutral,
the ikhs of the Imzilen provided conciliators: it was again asked recently, by a tumultuary election, for a customary judge. The a. Lamin started the war. The ait Umghar, having formed an alliance with the Idma and their emerging dynasty, the a. Ânunu, consolidated their own power and ensured the advantage to the amghar Âbdesslam b. Âbdelmalek, father of the present chief.

634 Today, the a. Mh'nd include 120 foyers, to which it is
619 proper to add 44 emigrant ones, more or less settled outside.
592 These figures, at the time of the 1929 investigation, were respec-
162 tively 100 and 13 hearths. Progression of 1/5 in 20 years.

/179/ An Archaic Emigration

166 This emigration is an ancient phenomenon. The travelers
167 establish residence in the country of their choice, but keep their
lands in their native country. They are seen again at harvest time. In April, 1951, a force of 60 men, that is, one from every two foyers, descended into the plain for the harvest. On the other hand, a worker emigration is still unknown.

About a third of the a. Mh'nd have settled outside of the
[177] Seksawa. This phenomenon, of ancient type, and not yet influenced by the industrial thrust of Morocco, doubtlessly has a certain documentary value. Among these emigrant foyers one counts: 1 settled in Marrakech, 4 in Casablanca, 3 at Imintanout, 3 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), 8 in ait Âbdella, 2 at Ghdir Bnan, 4 in Ud Didan, 3 in Ud Mumna, 4 at Lalla^{c}Ariba, 1 in Ud Sawla (Ud Bessebâ^c), 10 at Tafttacht (Chyâd'ma), 1 in ait ^{c}Aliwach (Mjjat'). That is, all departed toward the north.

It seemed interesting to find again in the plain, where they are within direct reach of the investigation, some of these temporary or definitive emigrants.

166 Brahim u H'ammo n-a. Umzil (60 years old), although living
159 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), still has all his relatives in a. Mh'nd.

[Ait Mh'nd]

311 /181 cont./
103 dome stretching from these rocks to the Ameznir, and which bears the name of Un-an, Tag^{w}d'ayt, etc.

423 On each of these quarters, all moreover privately appropriated,
311 is affirmed the vocation of each *ikhs*, just as on the irrigated.
● [613] But the distance, the difficulty of transport, and doubtlessly also the character of confines that, even on the scale of
[578] these cantons, these expanses offer in relation to the density, to the proximity, and, if I may venture to say it, to the "presence" of the irrigated ground, all of that results in the fact that the rivalries between the powerful are given a free course there, more or less excluding the weak. But the latter are aware of their
[103] rights. In August, 1950, interrogating with J. Dresch a modest livestock-breeder met on the side of the source, we were able to note that he enumerated, as his land right bearing on all the *albur* quarters, the following names:

-- periphery of the crater: Anammer Udrar (on the Zkkat'), Inwalen (on the Awrir Iwiggin);
-- in the direction of the Ibuban: Griighrad'en, Anammer n-a-Lghachi, Unan (toward the Tizi Unluf), Talâint Umeznir, Ag^{w}ni n-Ish'aq, Akhbu^{w}wagaywar, Albur i-ysekni;
-- finally, in the thalweg: Imd'rar, Az'ru n-tmedda.

That is, for a very small country, a dozen quarters where, if one may say it, his vocation as owner and especially, in the case in point, as claimant will be exercised; this "right" ends up by constituting a sort of permanent blackmail of the poor.

423 Let us say, in anticipating a little, that this rule has been
182 cross-checked many times. It presents itself to the people of the country with the clearness of an organic law. It unites the life of the group and guarantees its equilibrium, through the judicial and moral tensions that, no less than the fruit of the fields, form its vitality, its virility, and ensure it against the precariousness and the perils of mountain life.

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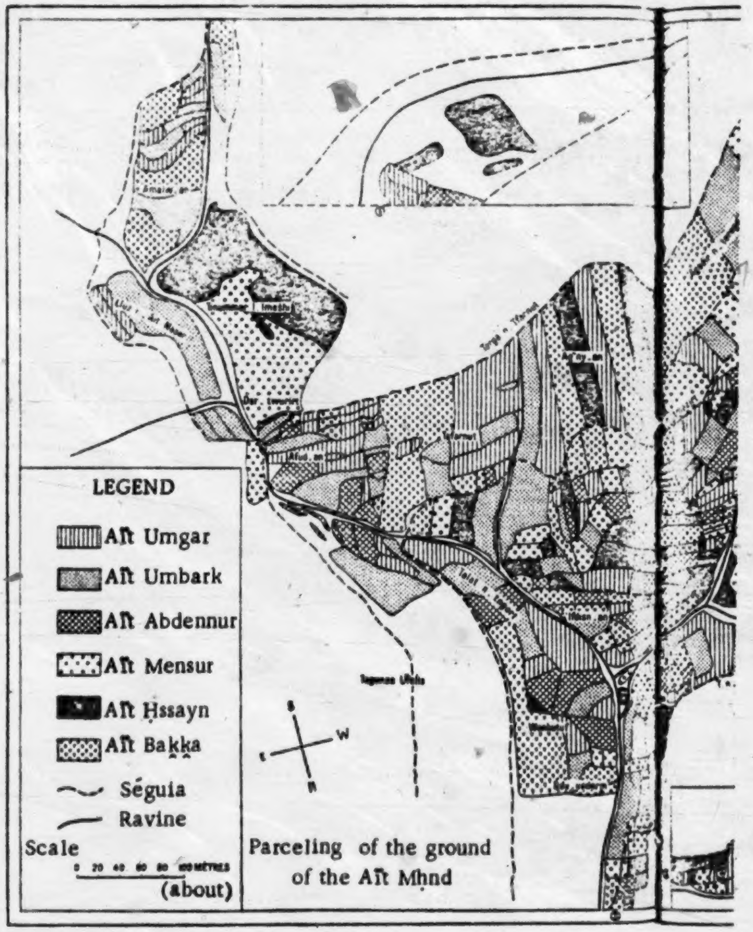
[Ait Mh'nd]

/Left side of map, p. 186 of the original source/


LEGEND
Aït Umgar
Aït Umbark
Aït Abdennur
Aït Mensur
Aït Ḥssayn
Aït Bakka
Séguia
Ravine
Scale
0 20 40 60 80 METRES
(about)
Parceling of the ground of the Aït Mḥnd

[Ait Mh'nd]

/Right side of map, p. 187 of the original source/

102
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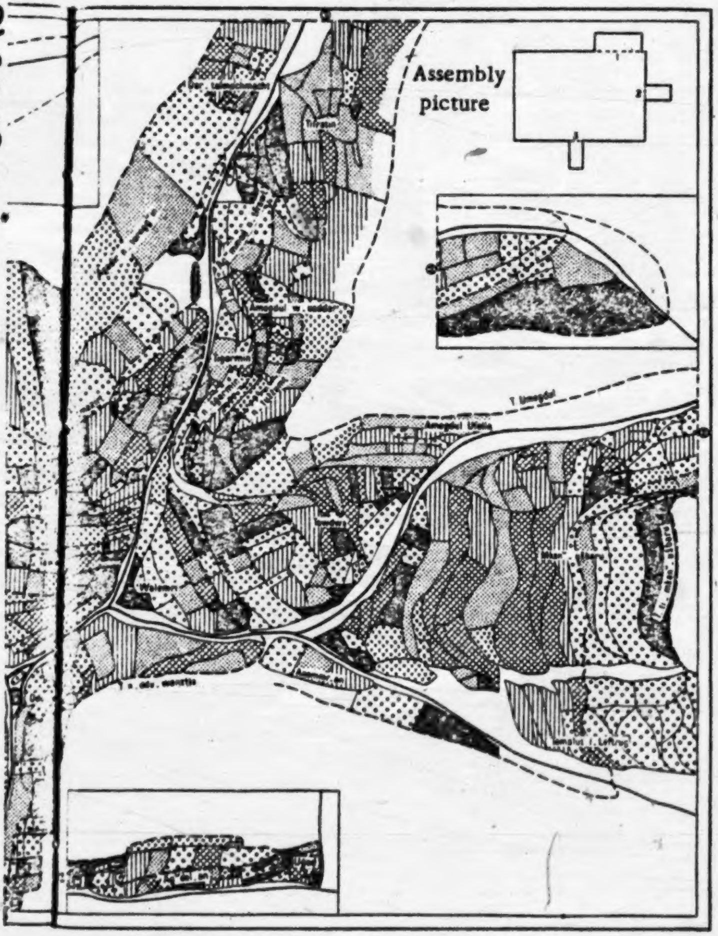
Assembly picture

[Ait Mh'nd]

/188 cont./

312 n-dar uzerg, t. n-talat nnur (accessory, collects the streaming water).

312 423 The irrigation mechanism has been dealt with above. It only functions, or in other words the water roster, *tiwaliwin*, only goes into effect, at the time when the low-water level, at the beginning of the dry season, imposes regulation. Thus it is this physical factor that will impose recourse to the rhythm of distribution. Similarly, and within each portion, in case the module is insufficient to irrigate simultaneously the ensemble of those having rights, there will be a drawing of lots among them. [241] It is still this pure question of fact that will determine whether or not there is a possibility of cultivating on the stubble fields after the 242 barley harvest and of laying out the market gardens. On the other hand, what does not depend on outside circumstances is the biennial crop rotation, by alternated soles (Fr. *sole*, expanse of arable land intended for a certain crop in the rotation/ of barley and maize, which we see here. This movement bears on only four quarters, which are, to tell the truth, the best irrigated ones and like the heart of the ground: Twuttyan, Taçddut, Tighermin, Amegdul. The figures given above indicate that the crop rotation functions over some 25 ha., that is, over half of the ensemble of the irrigated crops.

Comments on the Parceling

● 613 423 Over all the expanse of the irrigated ground, each *ikhs* is represented by several fields in each of the quarters. Without exception. Despite sales, female inheritances, pledges, usurpations, etc., this rule /189/ still stands out from the perusal of a parceling established in 1948 (Fig. 8)[1] and about which it is advisable to state that it is the work of a young agricultural engineer uninformed about the custom and consequently not suspect a priori. In the numerous cases of the *rrahn*-s, he evidently noted the possessory situation. One will also observe -- and this deformation is interesting -- that the four superadded *ikhs*-s were indicated as being mingled with those of the basic *ikhs*-s, which are in a way

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[1] [For figure 8, see pp. 261-262--Analyst]

[Ait Mh'nd]
[Agersili]

/189 cont./

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[312]
their respondents: another trait of structural permanence. The informants on the scheme evidently based their own declarations on what they knew, as a. Mh'nd, on the distribution of water: confirmation of the integrally gentilitial nature which affects the latter. Finally, the figure thus obtained gives an idea that still remains below the regularity attributed by the local interpretation to this parcellary sampling of the ikhs-s among the quarters. Examination of this scheme, as it is, and subject to the above, is nonetheless conclusive.

One will observe the denser concentration of the pieces toward the center (Twuttyan and others): evidently the alternation between the soles implies that, in each, each one is represented equitably. Elsewhere, on the contrary, the parcels are more spacious. At two peripheric places (Ag^{W}nian and Mkan Uchboro), they affect a parallelism in strips, which evokes a systematic division.

B) Another case of montagnard classicism: Agersili

133 J. Dresch describes, under the name of capture of Agersili, a characteristic phenomenon of the changes in basic levels intervening on both sides of the sub-Atlas flexure. A whole ramification of valleys with a mature appearance, descending from the flanks of the Tabgurt, extended through the Inraren Z'dinin threshold into a depression with gentle slopes, the Ighzer n-Tzemzgart, toward the Ammern torrent, where it flings itself to the height of Ad'erd'ur. But the upstream system was collected by another ravine, this one abrupt, the Ighzer Wanchkrir, which seized it through a sudden denivellation, forming a cascade, and drawing it toward the main valley. The ressaut is 300 meters. It is that "the progression of the Ighzer Wanchkrir has been favored by the weak resistance of the Ordovician schists hugging the length of the sub-Atlas accident." Coming from the source of the Amerdul and from the high pastures of the Tabgurt, concentrating the moisture from the snows that cover Agersili for two or three months each year, a stream of water gushes downstream.

[Agersili]

/190 cont./

241 133 Agersili, with its terraces descending over some 80 ha., is the most beautiful and, all allowances being made, the most colossal example of crops in tiers in this part of the Atlas. On the two faces of a ravine, the system extends over three kilometers. We shall command a better view of it by backing up to the flank of the Tabgurt, on the side of the small intermittent source called Talat wuz'ma. From here our view plunges into the axis. Toward the N.-E., on the right, there appears to us a limestone peak pointing like an arrow to the Agadir waleggu. In the background, the dome of the Tindri, which commands Ikis. [361] On the right bank of the small valley, two villages of dry stone, Agerd'ayan, the more important, and Twurirt. What is striking in the crops at first glance is the alternation of colors, which the rotation of the soles brings about, according to the season.

311 312 The ground is divided into quarters, each corresponding to a principal intake, açder, on each of the 11 channels, that is, from upstream to downstream: targa n-Talburt, y-imi n-tanut, ddu wg^{w}erd'an, umalu y-imi y-iz'ma, wannammeran on the right bank; n-tghuni, n-tsila, y-Irzzi, w-wammas, wanammer, y-imi y-iz'ma on the left bank.

634 613 423 619 This irrigated ground, about 40 ha., belongs to the Idma. A first analysis registers their subdivision into six great ikhs-s. But, although these six names are also found within the limits of the other bourgs, in general there is specialization of submultiples of ikhs, if one wishes, among these different sectors. Here, it is essentially the people of Usikis who cultivate, at the same time as lower, on the deep terraces of the village (a staircase with 200 steps), and at Imi^{W}Usikis and Tighwla in the main valley. The ensemble of these four grounds constitutes the /191/ irrigated part of the bounds of Usikis. The lion's share. At Agersili, for example, among the representatives of the great ikhs of the Iseqqalen, we distinguish: a. Lh'ajj, a. Warh'man, a. Zbayr, a. Unejjar; among those of the great ikhs of the a. Mh'nd u. Abdallah appear the Ih'chtrag, the a. bu Mh'nd, the a. Berka; among the a. Ilarzg the a. Berchman and the a. Lehri. Other subbranches will appear at Ad'erd'ur, Wanchkrir, or Tanssmekht.

[Agersili]

/191 cont./

634 619 ● 613 This specialization by sectors seems to be a corollary of the amplification of the group. It is complementary to another rule ordering the equilibrium of the group on the space that it occupies, by the minute samplings. Thus it is that the Idma are divided into five branches. They themselves are divided into 33 ikhs-s, two of which now extinct. The average size of an ikhs [162] can thus be estimated at 13 houses, 15; 5 foyers, 67; 74 persons. Of these five branches, four are represented at Usikis, three at Ad'erd'ur. Two seem to be concentrated particularly in one village, for example, Tasselli or Ad'erd'ur. Among the ikhs-s themselves, two are represented in several villages. One, the Iseqqalen, is represented everywhere. It is evidently the dominant group.

A harmony, obeying simple laws of balanced representation, is thus recognized in the composition that prevails between the Idma and their country. But an even more refined harmony prevails in the distribution of the grounds. How, in the case of Agersili, the division of the ground into quarters is combined with that of the group into ikhs-s: this is what will stand out from the table on the following page. /See p. 269./

Comments on the Table

613 423 242 312 [126] This table with its figures was drawn up by myself, following numerous cross-checkings on the spot, one of which was made in August, 1950, in the presence of J. Dresch. It is confirmed in large part by another table, this one figurative, drawn up by a scholar from Ad'erd'ur. The native figure is based, no longer on the division by quarters, but on the service by ditches. As the quarter here has a technical definition, that is, of being served by one main sluice, the result comes out the same. Nevertheless a fluctuation in the number of parcels: 3,546 according to the first method, 3,670 according to the second one. A coefficient of incertitude of some 4% is negligible. Thus let us study the principal traits that flow from this ensemble of indices, calculable, one sees, with sufficient exactitude.

[Agersili]

/191 cont./

The Distribution of Landed Property

423 The indications recorded here about property come especial-
ly from the awareness that the group has of its land bases, that is,
from a beginning of interpretation that has taken into account, in
certain cases, the owner rather than the occupant. In other cases,
on the contrary, it is the possessory situation, based on a rrahn or
423 from an old usurpation, which has influenced the notation. Nota-
613 bly being the matter in the case of the family of the present
amghar, the Iseqqalen. Such as it is, however, and despite all
the avatars resulting from alienations and female inheritances,
/192/ /left side of table appears here/ /193/ /right side of table
appears here/ /194/ /chart appears here/ /195/ /chart appears
here/ /196/ this document establishes, with a coefficient of
cross-checking of about 75%, that each ikhs is represented in each
quarter. This cross-checking, bearing on more than 25 quarters,
on six ikhs-s and 3,500 parcels, has weight. But inequalities ap-
pear, as much in terms of the respective patrimony of the ikhs-s
as in the proliferation of these into minor ikhs-s, then into
"families." That is, for the Iseqqalen: 7 families, a. Ilarzg 11,
a. H'sayn 2, a. Mh'nd u Ăbdallah 5, a. Ulila 3, a. Uh'qqi only 1.

The law of sampling verified above would be such much less exactly (at 52%, however) if we took into account, not the ikhs-s, but their subdivisions. It no longer applies to the family echelon. Nothing surprising in that. It is a rule of public law, we might say, and not of distributive justice. It stops at a certain echelon, which is that of the ikhs. But the proliferation of certain ikhs-s into certain sectors, where the others are reduced to a representation by principle, doubtlessly reveals complex symmetries. Perhaps there has been division of villages among groups. All are represented in each one, but in variable proportions, and that might produce agreements recognizing local primacy for such a one among them. Perhaps, on the contrary, after an egalitarian distribution, there have been alterings which took account of the importance of action taken within the limits of such-and-such a village by such-and-such an ikhs.

[Agersili]

/Left side of chart, from p. 192 of the original source./

Analysis of the Parceling of Agersili

Number of parcels belonging to each of the ikhs-s in each of the quarters below

242
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● 613

Names of the ikhs-s	1. Talat-an.	2. Taslaft.	3. Tasnayt-an.	4. Is'mayan.	5. Ddu y-Irz'.	6. Ftaberin.	7. Talat n-ifrawt.	8. Talbart.	9. Amaluyalch.	10. Amalu ddu wgadir.	11. Ddu Turirt.	12. Targa wammas.
Issqqalen	88	41	152	132	110	66	44	11	73	61	46	16
a. Ilarag	77		27	33	98	106	36	27	13	37	16	69
a. H'ssyn		3	.	29	24	33			6	5	10	18
a. M'hand u Åbdellah	12	2	20	13	75	55	43	31	3	19	5	18
a Ullis			24	10	41	7			10	19		13
a. Wah'qqi			15	8	12					14	16	
Totals	177	46	238	225	360	267	123	69	105	155	93	134
Crop Rotation The initials o (barley), n (turnip), m (maize), indicate the crop cultivated in each of these quarters during the campaigns:												
1948-49	m	m	m	?	o	o	m	m	m	m	o	m
1949-50	o	o	o + m	m	m	m	o + n	o	o	o + n	m	o
1950-51	m	m	m	o + m	o	o	m	m	m	m	o	m
1951-52	o	o	o + n	o + m	m	o + n	o + n	o + n	o + n	o + n	o + n	o + n
1952-53	m	m	m	m + o	o	m + o	o	m	m	m	m	m

[Agersili]

/Right side of chart, from p. 193 of the original source./

242
312
423
● 613

13. Imz'ughan.	14. Firazalen.	15. Uggug l-yml y-iz'ma.	16. F-lghual.	17. Amalu y-lmil n-tamut.	18. Talaggut-an.	19. Ddugord'an.	20. Awrz l-yml y-iz'ma.	21. Amalu y-lmi y-iz'ma.	22. Talat Unghar.	23. Wanammer-an.	24. Turga y-lrz.	25. Awrir-an.	26. Talat n-Tfrawt.	27. Aït Yus.	
6	6	5		11	27	13	10	7		56	33	50	5	12	1,005
56	57	18	48	20	11	52	9	23	35	118	9	111	80	63	1,270
			16			3		7	26	10	30	30			213
43	35	21	11	13	3	23	7	2	11	15	3	91	20	13	637
31	1				13	12		9	2	9		29	13	13	256
															65
136	99	44	74	44	54	103	26	48	74	208	75	311	118	101	3,546
?	o	o	?	m	m	o	o	o	m	o	o	o	m	o	
o+n	o+n	m	m	o+n	o+n	m	m	n	o	m	m	o	o	m	
m	o	o	o	m	m	o	o	o	m	o+m	o	m	m		
o+n	m	m	o+n	o+n	m+n	m+n	m	o+n	o+n	m	o+n	o	o		
m	o	o	m	m	o	o	o	m	m	o	m	o	m		

[Agersili]

/196 cont./

423
613 In either case, the analysis of landed property thus leads to the question of the relation of the families and of the minor ikhs-s, between them, on the one hand, with the genealogical memory of the taqbilt, on the other, and finally with the landed and agricultural structure. A complex and obscure relation, but, very certainly, a relation.

The Quarters

311
423 Relatively precise measurements give, for the irrigated part of Agersili, 42 ha. Thus, each of the 27 quarters covers on the average 1.55 ha. A considerable size in the high-mountain economy; it is triple of what we observed among the closely neighboring a. Mh'nd. (103) On the other hand, the toponyms are very clear. One realizes that from the list above, which does not leave room for any etymological speculation, but simply notes the meaning immediately perceived and translated by the user. This list includes, besides the 27 quarters, 48 other names, which are the subdivisions of them. There are chances that the enumeration is not exhaustive. But there, too, the impression of a density with meshes larger than for the a. Mh'nd, expressing more freedom of space, asserts itself. These subdivisions into quarters do not enter into consideration, it seems, for the play of the soles, characteristic of Agersili. Their true nature is thus more complex, and doubtlessly destined to escape us. They are perhaps the trace of an earlier system, more refined and where the sampling of the lots went still further. Perhaps, on the contrary, they offered historical arrangements only a raw and preexistent material.

/197/

Agriculture

241 The average area of the parcel is 120 m² on irrigated land: on that, one can arrive at a fairly exact approximation. This figure has a symptomatic value.

/198 cont./
423 peculiar character of the returns effected by the owners on the
794 occasion of feasts, offerings, visits. The money is shuffled here,
(452) and the investment relatively large. The budget of the group is credit. Whence purchases far away in the plain, which correlatively led to the abandonment of the high terraces and a certain decadence of the montagnard cultivations. But that is a matter of a late evolution. Let us not stop there.

423 At present, three ikhs-s, a. H'ammo, a. Lh'sen, a. Âli,
613 are distributed in these quarters according to a sampling all the
592 more complicated because they include nearly 40 foyers having rights, that is:

a. H'ammo. . . .	22 having rights	357 parcels
a. Lh'sen	10 --	105 --
a. Âli	7 --	65 --

Inequality among the ikhs-s: the a. Lh'sen and the a. Âli each have no more than a few foyers: curse of the saint. Besides, the a. Âli have alienated many of their portions: economic expression of their spiritual discredit. The inequality between owners can go from the simple to twentyfold. Seven owners by themselves alone own nearly half of the total number of parcels. But the distribution of the ikhs-s, and even of many families of each ikhs, over the ensemble of the quarters is nonetheless the rule. Thus, on the 29 parcels that make up the quarter of Imi n-Zennu, one finds:

a. Âli	2 having rights	2 parcels
a. Lh'sen	8 --	12 --
a. H'ammo. . . .	10 --	15 --
	20 having rights	29 parcels

312 In what concerns the irrigation, one witnesses here the phe-
423 nomenon of rupture of the gentilitial order that has already been
178 observed at Ad'erd'ur. For /199/ several years, the irrigation has
613 been done s-içd'ar or s-tghuma, "by sluices." That is to say, by ensembles of continuous parcels. By pieces of land, and not by

/199 cont./

312 423 178 ● 613 origins. The phenomenon is related to a recent evolution. Reason invoked: the exorbitant disproportion between the patrimonies of the three ikhs-s made excessively disadvantageous for the at H'ammo, possessors by themselves alone of more than half, a distribution where they would have only one share of water out of three. These readjustments seem bound to intervene as soon as, for some reason, the old balance weakens. Opposed to the gentilitial order, they perpetuate in short an archaic operation of accumulation of capital. The inequality in the possession of land is reinforced by a new inequality in the use of water. This sort of management, responding to specious symmetries at the same time as to a better agronomy, always rallies the concert of the notables. Mutatis mutandis, it corresponds to the progress of the enlightenment and liberalism that broke up the old communitarian traditions in our own rural history at a certain epoch. The abandonment of the former system for the new expresses here a sort of liberal revolution.

423 178 [613] At any rate the analysis of the ground of Z'init' can leave no doubt as to the order that survives through all landed-property mutations. It perpetuates an exact representation of each of the participants of the group, ikhs-s and most often even families, in each, without exception, of the quarters that make up the ground. That is the general rule. [794] In the individual case, it has been disturbed by evolutions -- expansions or declines -- which one can likewise connect with the myth of the saint, but which doubtlessly also reflect more prosaically the constant nourishment of the minor group of the lfoqra by the tithes and offerings. Thus are brought about by way of archaic, but curiously concordant routes, phenomena of concentration, whose working, however, in the middle of the twentieth century, has not yet prevailed over the old landowner law.

[613] Finally, in the economic and even demographic inequality among ikhs-s, inequality more pronounced than round about, it is not exaggerated to recognize the effect of a more advanced monetarism. A greater mass of available lands has produced phenomena of consumption, circulation, and reinvestment, the

[Ait Musa Ufella]

312 /200 cont./ Thus a whole part of
628 the agriculture of the a. Musa depends on relations of neighbor-
782 liness and propitiatory sacrifices which are made each time, in case of need, to the marabouts of Aduz. This irregularity, with
312 phases of unconditional abundance when the ditch runs high, and
423 of restriction or even scarcity, results in the fact that the ad-
613 ministration of the water does not correspond to a division among ikhs-s. The water is distributed either at the discretion of each one or, in case of need, by small groups of contiguous parcels, s-irubba. No "turn" properly speaking.

Distribution of the quarters among ikhs-s
in the terrain of the ait Musa Ufella (Fig. 9)

1) List of the names of ikhs:

a) Ait Chtittihi.
b) Ait Bu-setta.
c) Ait J'j'amid.
d) Ait Watchaw.
e) Ait H'mad.
f) Ait Jjaw.
g) Imzilen.
h) Ait Si Addi.
i) Ait Wabgur.
j) Ait Umazwur.
k) Ait Wakrim.
l) Ait Mzird'ad'.
m) Ait Lkessas.
n) Ait Imij.
o) Ait Lmekhtar.
p) Ait H'sayn.
q) Ait H'med u Jibbu.
r) Ait u Châib.

2) List of the names of quarters:

1. Tameselnt.
2. Ammayn.
3. Ddu-Wanghemmi.
4. Tkunt.
5. Targa meqqurn.
6. Agergiwn.
7. Igidar.
8. Imi n-talat.
9. Imlaln-an.
10. Tariat't' n-Ddaâli.
11. Imiri y-igʷrramen.
12. Ddu-wjjin.
13. Imi n-urtan-an.
14. Tikid'a n-ait Brahim.
15. Talat n-Teddart.
16. Lmegzart.
17. Imejjad'-an.
18. Aryad'n-an.
19. Ult-teskri.
20. Azarn-an.
21. Timejderra.
22. Igherman-an.
23. Dar u- Weswik.
24. Lemkhazin.
25. Imi n-tebratjut.
26. Iussran.
27. Ddu-ʷgʷadir.
28. Ibh'ir.
29. Inebdar.
30. Ameslen.
31. Timzughin.
32. Tukhribin.

[Ait Musa Ufella]

634
● 613
[173]
[423]

/201/ The thing is remarkable, for, in addition, the a. Musa have preserved a gentilitial organization all the more authentic and using archaisms since they include, as will be seen, descendants of H'addo, legendary king of the Seksawa: the a. H'qqi, to whom the chiefs' family belongs. The

102
133
361
423
613
634

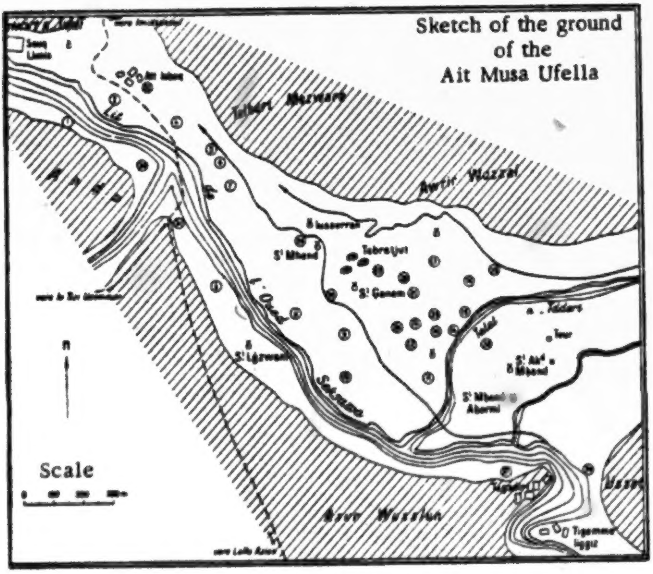
Sketch of the ground
of the
Ait Musa Ufella
Awrir Wazzal
Tabratjut
S' Mhend
S' Genem
S' Lgrwan
L'Oued
Seksawa
Iddars
Tour
S' Abd Mhend
S' Mhend Aberni
Tigemmi liggiz
n
Scale

Fig. 9. -- The basin of Tabratjut (ait Musa Ufella).
The numbers refer to the names of quarters shown in the tables in the text. /vers, "toward"; Lit de l'Oued Seksawa, "Bed of the Seksawa Wadi."/

[Ait Musa Ufella]

/201 cont./
634 property is not always distributed solely among these great ikhs-s,
613 4 in number, a. H'qqi, a. H'amed, a. Jjaw, a. Mzird'ad', but
423 among several minor ikhs-s, 14 in number. An order of distribution is evident here, and all the more since it asserts itself, being a matter of lineages not as large as the great ikhs-s, with a minutia pushed further than at Agersili, for example. The table below has grouped the number of parcels possessed by each family in each of the 33 quarters. /202/ /Table appears here./

423 /203/ 1) Cross-checking the parcellary rule gives only 51%
613 confirmation, if we consider the ensemble of the 14 families and 33 quarters. But a simple look at the table shows that the anom-
[128] aly is concentrated on the last three quarters and the last four families. If one leaves them aside, the rule is confirmed for more than 70%. That despite the local presence of a family of chiefs whose personal expansion goes back for three generations. And despite the vulnerability of the a. Musa to the causes of disaggregation of the montagnard system, and the principal ones of which originate from the plain and from the power of the plain. To what is this anomaly due? To the fact that the four participants given at the end of the list are, for two of them, a. Sh'aq, residual population, and, for the others, allogeneous. As for the three aberrant quarters, they are the ones served by a third séguia coming from the torrent of the a. Mh'nd: adjunction outside the system. Thus the structure is logical. And one will be apprised of its perfection even better if one accedes to the present explanation according to which it was the caid Chtittihi, father of the present amghar, who would have (thus about 1900) broken up the larger indivision, dispersing over the whole a. Musa section of valley the vocation of the different ikhs-s "from below and above," and set apart as their own for "those from above" only ait Ufella, the present sector. A vivification of the communitarian rule, an application pushed to an echelon more precise than that of the great ikhs-s have perhaps resulted from it. The re-establishment of the a. Musa on their ground brought about a rejuvenation of their structural law.

1: Berque--284 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

[Ait Musa Ufella]

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613

/Table from p. 202 of the original source/

Indication of the ikhs-s	Indication of the number of parcels that each ikhs possesses in each quarter (the letters and the numbering refer to the lists above)																															
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	
a	16	15	13	47	64	4	53	45	40	17	25	38	15	7	5	31	4	8	11	15	9	4	39	85	19	47	14	49	37		2	5	783
b				1	3		1	7		1	3	1			1		1	1	1							1	1	8	1				32
c	1	2	3	8	8		12	10	4		4	4	2		4	6	4	2			4		2		1	10	4	16	8	2			121
d	1	2	3	7	8		2	9				4	1		4	6	4	2			4		2		1	8	1	20	6				95
e	7	16	8	9	10		3	17	1	17	3	6	10	5	2	4	7	15	3	1	2	3	3		3	16	9	13	15				208
f	2			3		3	4	5		3	2	4	2	1	2		2	2	2					7	1	5	3	1	7				61
g					1		2	1	1			1											2	3	1				2				14
h	2	1	2	1		1	2	2			1	1		2	3	2			1	3	1	3	2		1	4	1						36
i		4	2	6	4	3	3	6	2				4	1	1	1	1	3		2		6		4	2	18						5	78
j	4	11	5	23	25	1	10	11	11			9	17		1	12	3	5	2	9		16	13	7	11	50	1		1				258
k	1	3	9	7	6	4	8	10				3		2	2	3		3	4	9	3	4	5	6	4	22							118
l	1	2	2	1	4		1	3	2	3	1	3			3	3	2	1		2		1		3	2	4							44
m		1	2		2											3	1				3			2		12						1	27
n	3	1		1	7	1	1	2	2	2					1	3	3	3	1	3		2	1		1	9							47
o																														10			10
p	18	30																															48
q	6	5																															11
r	8	16																															24
Totals by quarters.	70	109	49	114	142	17	92	128	63	43	39	74	51	18	29	74	32	45	25	44	26	39	69	117	47	206	34	107	77	12	2	11	
General total																																	2,015

[Ibuban]

/207 cont./

133 dangerously close. To the N. and N.-E. it is still covered by a
[137] forest of holm oaks, junipers, and lentisks, where the villages
have had to clear a place for themselves parsimoniously. To the
S. the lands of Iwulla almost reach as far as the village of Tugg
Lkheyr, hanging over it by the Awrir i-ysemgan, "the hill of the
Negroes," with colossal populations of opuntia. To the E. the
country is cut not only by the valley of the asif n.-a. Lh'sen, but
by the high brows of the Amuddur (2,075 meters), through the
Wanz'id' possessions which advance to the north like a duck's
bill to rejoin the /208/ domain of the a. Lh'sen "of below"
233 (Awines and Buteghradin). The pasturage is so restricted, es-
423 pecially on the side of the Ameznir, that these schistose slopes
613 are delimited among ikhs-s users. This notably at Tugg Lkheyr
and Timskert, where this division of the sterile wasteland appears
to have been pushed to its last degree and to have developed a
whole red tape of documents of ownership.

166 Yet this mutilated sector represents a reordering, due to the
intervention of the "caid" Lmokhtar, for whom one will note
the topographical strategy, adroit at reserving for his what we
call the lines of communication. Formerly, the a. Lh'sen of
166 Awines had occupied the Ibuban. The present inhabitants, of
432 heteroclite and successive origins, settled by way of purchase.
But the avarice of these driven-back populations enabled them to
overflow it anew on the, not political, but juridical plane. They
bought lands from their neighbors from Ammern and a. Musa, in
the Ilikri.

312 Nothing more precarious seemingly than this country without
[242] water. Barely two or three miserable sources, all just suitable to
give drink to the villages and to support, at the price of a long-
term rotation (12 days for three ikhs-s at Timskert, for example),
a few poor patches of gourds and onions. The only resource is
that of the streaming water. It nevertheless appears considerable
241 in case of heavy rain. The reserves of the soil, long stored, then
liquefy. One has barley for four or five years. Or one waits for
the storm, rrâda, which in general at the end of August marks
the time of the musêm of Tamarut, in Demsira, to "carry off" a

[Ibuban]

/209 cont./
243 a. Lh'sen, 20 measures of seed from Ibuban give as much as its
double from any other origin. And a quarter *âbra* of this cereal
grown here suffices, it seems, to satisfy, and beyond, the most
voracious of mules. The explanation, which we would willingly
[823] see in the quality of the soil, which a maladroit irrigation technique
[778] does not wash away, as it does everywhere else, the people
see in a special *baraka* /magico-religious force; see glossary,
p. 638/, with which the Ibuban would be favored. First, as
compensation, for their country is unfruitful. Then because they
[794] are the most religious of men: thus, at Iggayzen, each foyer
pays to the saints merely as *chcherd'*, and not including the
feasts and voluntary gifts, 4 1/4 measures of barley, that is 2/3
[173] qal. Finally, the Ibuban contain very old populations, and
antiquity on the soil is linked, according to these montagnards,
to a fine agricultural hand. These are "old people."

423 The bounds are divided into grounds where each of the principal
613 *ikhs* is represented. Thus, the Amassin people, of Dukkâla
origin, have their lands in each of the four villages. But, through
a privilege connected with their quality as conquerors, none of
the other *ikhs* has any among them. The a. Mulid, originally
from the a. Irz'z'i, are, like them, with this exception, represented
everywhere. The aberrant populations, like the Inagheyn
of Talburt, or the a. ba Melluk, descendants of blacks annihilated
by the Dukkâla, have fields only around their habitat.
Fugitive a. Irz'z'i and immigrant Dukkâla, masters of the country,
have thus divided it among themselves. These conquered
ones are here combined with other elements as beneficiaries of
a new hierarchy. But this order is incomplete. The documentary
interest of the sector is that local tradition makes one understand
why. Among the *ikhs*-s descended from the oldest populations
and the conquering branches, Dukkâla or a. Irz'z'i, there
has not been equitable distribution. Between these two branches
themselves, all the quarters have not been covered by the
division. The disorder of history, reflected by still-living inequalities,
has thus had direct effects on the landowner equilibrium.

[Ibuban]
[Imt'ddan]

/209 cont./

182 On the other hand, this driven-back economy has sought in
a very instructive fashion to survive: it is an albur /see p. 38/
island in the mountains, an island in dry mountains, a corner,
one might say, of the Anti-Atlas. An equilibrium has been
sought, not in the obstinate hydraulic work, because there is no
water, but in the nonchalant exploitation of the almond tree and
the opuntia. In sum, recourse to the harvest. Correlatively, the
rhythm of life here is much less active than in the neighboring
181 valleys. Long chats in the /210/ sun, on the plaza of the
timezgida, inertia and routine have deeply tarnished the local
character. To that are added other characteristics, resulting
from history, and the ensemble of which makes up a physiognomy
of decadence. The communal order does not completely govern
the division of the ground. The pasturage is appropriated. The
absence of irrigation resources has driven this mountain population
to a steppe culture. It is doubtlessly not by chance that, contrary
to the atmosphere of the other cantons, inequality should have
arisen from the inclemency of the conditions of life. This poor
canton contains several "rich ones" and is still today, by an ap-
parent paradox, the one that provides some of the biggest shares
of the tax. Poverty and defeat here have broken up the com-
munal order based on equality and obstinacy, and these miseries
are only incompletely compensated for by the mysterious agri-
cultural power of the "old people."

...F. Imt'ddan

613 [634] [166] The 4 Imt'ddan ikhs-s have swarmed from a metropolis, the present Tamt'ddit, to spread over a vast canton. Territorial expansion and social segmentation go hand in hand. Still today the tie between people and groups is by no means that of habitat by villages, but that of classification in one or another of the ikhs-s of origin. Nevertheless, the proliferation of the latter is starting to obscure the consciousness of the ensemble, and at the outset unanimity on the balance of the present subdivisions is no longer to be had.

[Imt'ddan]

/210 cont./

613
621

Original ikhs-s	Present "minor ikhs-s"	Habitat
a. Naçer.	a. Uferyad'.	Tamt'ddit.
	a. Uchikar.	Tagunit.
	a. Warrh'u.	Tamt'ddit.
	a. Batirat.	Tagunit.
	a. Mulid.	Tamt'ddit.
	a. Bihi.	Tamt'ddit.
a. Lâgid.	a. Chchku.	Tagunit.
	a. H'imi.	Tagunit.
	a. H'mad u-Mh'mmed.	Tamt'ddit.
a. Lyazid.	a. Ukraray.	Tinwalin, Tamzgurt.
	a. Uâzzi.	Tamt'ddit.
	a. Jamid.	Tinwalin.
	a. Uturit.	Tinwalin.
a. Uqejjaj.	a. Âli u Âli.	Tamzgurt.
	a. Sâid.	Tamzgurt.
	a. Ufarnu.	Tagunit.
	a. Uqurru.	Tagunit.
a. Lchger.	a. Ubaqqa.	Tagunit.
	a. Ubumarth.	Tagunit.

[Imt'ddan]
[Bul^{c}wân]

613
621 /211/ Undoubtedly one observes a certain differentiation between Tinwalin and Tamezgurt, on one hand, the two other villages of the tetrapolis, Tagunit and Tamt'ddit, on the other. But, with this exception, each subgroup is well represented in the different grounds of the canton.

423
691 This characteristic appeared clearly on the occasion of proceedings which in 1951 set the Imt'ddan against one another concerning a vast albur utilized half-pasturage, half-tillage, on the E. counterfort of the Tamjlucht. A judiciary transfer was made at the summit of the Azuran. The titles were contradictory; leases, sales had come into play. And, even more, irregularities of an ownership which always accrued to the strongest, but without annulling the right of the weakest. In fact, within this ground, three families, profiting from their preponderance, disputed a quarter favorable for rye called Uz'z'igat (1,900 meters). The summit is not far from it. From there, the view plunges, to the E., over the Kattos, the Wafagga; to the W. and to the S., over a landscape with magnificent folds, closed by the barrier of the Afuzar and, in the background, by the Atlasic crest. This high plateau, all around the crop terrain, is studded with idughas, [692] "summer shelters." The jemâa deliberates. An agreement is [634] finally concluded. The Uz'z'igat is to be allotted among the 19 [613] ikhs-s resulting from the fractioning of the first Imt'ddan families. A brief dispute had tended to exclude the branches with the most [634] eccentric habitat, such as those of Tinwalin. But, instructively, the taqbilt solidarity and the landed-property vocation that it implies will outweigh the dispersion of habitat and the decay of the bond. It could not be otherwise. Analogous solidarity prevails elsewhere, as has been seen, in a matter as favorable to privative appropriation as the harvest of almonds.

G) Bul^{c}wân, estuary of the montagnard system

133
361 The Tagoyyamt ford (740 meters), where the traditional route from the Dir crosses the Oued Seksawa, here called Lwâd n-Qihra, or Asifl-lqîhra, leaves a village on the right, Bul^{c}wân, the colony of which, Taqennurt, situated not far away, on the

[Bul^{c}wân]
[Taqennurt]

/214 cont./

b) Taqennurt

613 Fuq Bul^{c}wân is a ground that includes 141 very unequal par-
423 cels, 100 of them exiguous and 4 spacious. If one adds this num-
241 ber to that of Taqennurt, one obtains a figure of some /215/ 220
parcels for a total area of approximately 55 ha. That is, an av-
erage area of about 20 ares per parcel. A considerable figure in
[492] relation to the horticulture upstream: almost tenfold. It implies
a cereal economy, with animal tillage with two beasts. In fact,
[233] Bul^{c}wân and Taqqenurt together count nearly 200 bovines. Here
[412] the hoe is used only to finish the work around the foot of the trees.

Other verifications result from the parceling.

Names of ikhs-s	Number having rights	Number of parcels at Bul^{c}wân	Number of parcels at Taqennurt	Total of the parcels
a. Lkhil	2	21	13	34
a. Lmchari	6	13	5	18
a. Sidi Ghânem	10	32	2	34
a. Belh'ajj	1	3		3
a. H'mmo u Jàa	2	2	4	6
a. H'mmo u Qed[illegible]ur	2	3	1	4
a. Si Mh'nd	7	17	7	24
Ichkajen	4	12	1	13
a. Wah'man	1	2	1	3
a. Benjàa	5	8	1	9
a. Naçr	1	1		1
a. Ussttif	1	1		1
a. Bihi u Sâid	2	5		5
a. Wammern	2	10	5	15
a. Sàid	3	7	1	8
a. Bella u H'fid'	1	1		1
a. Wanz'id'	1	1		1
a. Bihi u H'fid'	3	1	7	8
a. Waferyad'	2		8	8
a. Alla u Bujmâ	1		2	2
a. Jàa Uk^{w}ays	2		2	2
a. Lqorchi	1		1	1
a. L^{c}anayt	6	3	4	7
a. Wârab	3		6	6
Ih'ançalen	2		3	3
a. Bihi u Ali	2		6	6
Total: 26 ikhs-s	70	143	80	223

[Taqennurt]

/215 cont./

613 423 241 This table calls for various comments.

1) Inequality of the landed situations. The a. Lkhil, family of the present chiefs, possess, by themselves alone, 1/7 of the parcels. Other ikhs-s also attain a respectable total. Thus, the a. Lmchari (18), the a. sidi Ghânem, descendants of the local saint (34), the a. sidi Mh'nd (24). But other patrimonies are reduced to one parcel. One sees appearing here the "great family" ousting the weak ones.

2) This aspect is accentuated if one considers only Taqennurt, where 7 ikhs-s are not even represented; the expansion in the "colony" is the business of the powerful ones.

3) A certain symmetry is nonetheless observable, since /216/ 3/4 of the ikhs-s are represented, even though unequally, in the two grounds.

Here we are on the way to other observations. Within Fuq Bul^{c}wân the rule is the plurality of the parcels: veritable representation. Although no longer corresponding to the toponymic division of the ground, it expresses a characteristic entanglement: a sort of secondhand or decadent form of landed-property sampling observed in the mountain sectors. In this respect one has only to cast one's eyes over the parcellary schema of the ground. The same names reappear at the four cardinal points. The parcels are arranged nearly on two longitudinal strips in the S.-N. direction. At Taqennurt, it is on three strips: one immediately against the Talh'archt, the other bordering the river, the third in between. These parcels, called by the name of the ikhs, are generally divided between two or three individual owners. Their number is rather moderate (70) for the ensemble.

That such symmetries have survived so many causes of disaggregation; even more, that the spontaneous action of the great ones, being accomplished by purchases and sales, without meeting the restraint of institutions of patrimonial immutability, has respected these symmetries, indeed has even tended to reconstitute them, that reveals either a singularly obstinate survival of an old order, or -- which would be even more revealing -- an inveterate tendency of the milieu to recompose itself through all

[Taqennurt.]

613 /216 cont./
423 vicissitudes and against all outside interventions: in the case in
241 point, six centuries of powers of the plain, in open struggle
against the montagnard system.

c) The confines: Lh'emri, Inzzūyma

619 Downstream from Taqennurt, the Seksawa bounds are promptly
131 limited by those of the Dwiran. A terrain quite poorly irrigated
today, Lh'emri, having become more or less the appanage
of the local chiefs, terminates them. Higher, it is the hillocks of
Inzzūyma, common to the W. with the Nfifa. Here therefore we
are in a zone of confines.

175 The middle Seksawa valley was formerly occupied by the
Demsira. This was not the case for Bul^{c}wân, the landed traditions
619 of which go back to some Ida u Blal. It is the former who were
replaced farther downstream by the Ud Bessebâ^c, whose first hamlet
bears a significant name, Ad'uwar. The Arabic "douar," in
contrast to the "village" of the Chleuh /Shluh/. All of this sector
was devastated by struggles between tribes. Also, it was intercessors
from the Seksawa valley, Ammern "marabouts" in particular,
whom it behooved initially to swarm in from this side in order to
bar the route to strangers. At Ad'uwar the Talh'archt and Tasbâit
channels meet: this is a knot of waterways toward the plain.

Here one is in the domain of decadent, "shattered" history. A large portion of the Lh'emri today is domainal, and rented, at a rate of principle, to the amghar-s of the a. Âbdella. Let us understand that this was a no man's land /the italics are in English in the original source/, theater of competitions of tribes, and of the expansion of the appanages. It is not there that one should look for a rural order.

133 To the E., toward Imintanout, a bulge of terrain sinks in
/217/ a triangle between the valleys of the asif-s Seksawa and
Imintanout. That would appear quite clearly to one who climbs
423 the slope of the Urkus. It is a matter of the ground of the Inzzūyma
619 equally claimed by the a. Âbdella and the neighboring
[657] Nfifa. The administration has consolidated and almost balanced

/219 cont./

114 /footnote 2 continued/ des noms propres /For
121 a collection of proper names/." Bulletin de
l'Institut français d'Afrique Noire, 1950,
p. 535; A. Roux, "Quelques remarques sur la
formation des noms de tribus chez les berbérophones du Maroc /Some comments on the
formation of names of tribes among the Berberophones of Morocco/." Actes et Mémoires
du III^{e} Congrès international de toponymie et
d'anthroponymie, Brussels, t. III, 1951, p. 485.

000 /The following section, including subsections on the Nfifa,
Mtugga, and Mez'ud'a, except for the last paragraph, is in
small type in the original source./ In form and color, the
133 Demsira country resembles the Seksawa country, of which it
175 forms the exterior boulevard, on the side of the route from the
177 Sous. The tribe, thus exposed directly to the influences of an
184 important path of invasion and passage, agharas ugellid, has suf-
619 fered intensely, in its structures, from phases of order and from
[634] those of rebellion. It presents itself today as a string of cantons,
stretched in the S.E.-N.W. direction, that of the route. The peak of the Bwibaun separates it from the Seksawa domain, into which, according to tradition, it formerly bit very deeply. Dispossessed of its conquests, it has even been amputated politically: its Iguntar are today subject to the a. Lh'sen. Thus it has suffered even more than the Seksawa from the action of the powers of the plain. Those of its cantons which, like the a. Châib and a. Bkhayr, have been able to escape through isolation have lived more shabbily than the Seksawa. The latter were protected, starting from their middle valley, by a relief in /220/ depth, a resistant hagiology, and probably a historical tradition: all things which are lacking in Demsira.

● 613 This said concerning the resemblances and differences, the
312 cross-checkings that have been brought to bear on this tribe have
[184] proved positive on a great number of points. Here are the principal ones:

/220 cont./

613 312 [443] [391] 1) At Timezgadiwin, an important market between the Tizi Umachcho and Argana, the law is so present that it could serve corollarially in a judiciary investigation in the proceedings setting against the present *jemâa* the claim of a formerly evicted *ikhs*, the a. Umahal. This *ikhs*'s turn for water and its share in all the quarters of the ground: Tassukt, Ikid'ulh'yan, Igummeranan, Igg n-zzit n-Belâid, Ddu wknari, Tigumrin, Bukheddo, Talat, had been camouflaged by the four other *ikhs*-s making up the a. Timezgadiwin, but three quarters of a century of occupation did not succeed in abolishing them. Thus there were always 5 turns for water for 4 *ikhs*-s, no plausible explanation being alleged for such an anomaly. That in a matter which in such a milieu is always reasoned out very exactly. An error in the administration of the water: the investigation thrust itself in there and unmasked the usurpation.

613 312 423 2) At Tinnmrutin, high-mountain village of the a. Châib, endowed with a relatively large ground, there exist 7 *ikhs*-s. The irrigated land is divided into 12 quarters perpendicular to the axis of the torrent: Ddu wrtan, Amkid'an, Ddu murgun, Igg mgun, Imi n-takt, Tikssrt, Imin-tsektan, Nggi teghla, Ddu teghla, Ughlin, Ddu wgenza, Imi n-tdkki. As a general rule, each quarter is divided among all the *ikhs*-s. Nevertheless inequalities of appurtenance, going from the simple to the quadruple, are observed within each quarter, between the shares of the ones having rights. They are still greater in the quarter located immediately below the village. Just as in another one, one of the 7 *ikhs*-s is not represented. The irrigation is done by turns of one day, falling to each of the *ikhs*-s. On the dry land, similar representation, although with more ample proportions and in less entanglement. Above the ditches for streaming water, that is again accentuated, and each *ikhs* has a sector of its own at its disposal.

The example of Tinnmrutin is all the more interesting because it touches our Seksawa, from whom the Iguntar, today attached to the a. Lh'sen, descended and still possess rights there.

613 423 3) In the most tortured region of the Demsira, the most weakened by all the conquerors, official passers-by, claimants

[Demsira]
[Nfifa]

/220 cont./

613 423 and tools of the power of the plain, the Irohalen, region on a slope, without good irrigation, Permo-Trias reddening, the landed property distributes the ten ikhs-s, including Tamarut marabouts, over the different grounds: for example, "the field of the King," Iger ugellid, a nice cereal piece at the junction of the routes from the Sous and the H'âh'a, Awrir-an and the rounded hill below Ddusyan, reputedly fertile for wheat. A system of rents compensates for the risks of drought or of a bad harvest. In sum, sector with an eventful constitution and history, which is organized to the best of its rather precarious nature, but visibly according to the lines observed in more intact grounds.

613 312 [133] /221/ 4) A. Mh'and u Musa. Narrow affluent valley of the asif i-ymintanut. Law notably cross-checked for the villages of Ergtajelt (9 quarters), Aghella (8), Bwiugra (11). The irrigation is always administered by ikhs, but unequally, the ikhs-s having unequal rights according to the quarters. Finally, the law is felt and formulated.

... Nfifa...

619 [131] Tribe completely of the piedmont. Occupies, besides the outlet of the col on the plain (Imintanout), the lower valley of the Amejnes and a "mountain" which is the North reverse of the Lemgo, as well as a plain on the confines of the Mtugga.

619 423 [634] 1) In this latter domain was observed the working of the distribution of land. It is the tagbilt called Wad l-lbûr. Seven a^cz'âm form it, all allogenous. Not one autochthon. One of them, the a. Âli Umbarek, has its crops grouped upstream, mixed with those of the a. Abdnnur, "people of the mountain." But the 6 others are impeccably represented in each quarter. Besides, they are the ones that are designated, excluding the former, [578] by a collective name: a. i-ymiz'z'er. The conflict between the rule of topographical distribution and possession, invoked by the a. Âli, who have all the crops massed around the source, gives rise to numerous clashes. In 1950 a transaction made allowances for things and combined the two systems to the

[Mtugga]

/222 cont./

133 the sea near Mogador. It is its water that formerly irrigated the Sâadian sugar-cane plantations.

619 1) The importance of the "plateau" is essential. With the
exception of the Reh'h'âla, aberrant, all the Mtugga khoms-s
surround it and participate in its exploitation for pasturage,
[634] gathering, or tillage. That is, in the direction of the hands of
a watch, the following taqbilt-s: Idaw Merzug, Idaw Nifi,
Kuzemt, Alassen, Idaw Talilt, Intamlin. 20

This schematic distributon, on the scale of the vast spaces of Mtugga life, nonetheless appears as a not negligible factor of economic and political equilibrium.

613 2) Kuzemt. The lands of dry tillage are owned by each of
423 the ikhs-s, by means of agglomerated parcels approximately
coinciding with the habitat. It is to be observed, moreover, that, following the H'âh'a mode, each ikhs lives apart. But the olive plantation contains, from the point of view of land, a representation of all the ikhs-s, and even those whose habitat is eccentric, like Iggi w-ugnan.

It is to be noted that most of the plantations are of the same
age. The presence of all the ikhs-s in the olive plantation, does
it correspond to a division subsequent to a collective task organ-
[172] ized by an official occupant? That is what the imposing ruins,
called Dar l-lbacha, and which seem to go back to the makhzanian enterprises mentioned in the Rih'la of the marabout of Tasaft (Justinard tr., p. 18), would make one suppose.

Besides the olive plantation, the quarter of Iggi n-d'her, where a great number of irrigated parcels exist, includes a veritable sampling of all the ikhs-s of Kuzemt.

133 3) To the N.-E. of the Jebel Kharruba, symmetrically with
the village of Tadnest in relation to these heights, the ground of
the Zahr ou T'amer resembles a series of basins, separated by
173 rocky spurs. According to a tradition recorded by J. Fuchs, this
was initially pasturage ground. Then different elements from Intamlin came to colonize it, without, for all that, abandoning their principal habitat.

/222 cont./

423 Although all sorts of mutations have affected the parts thus
revived, the collective qualification muchû^{c} is still applied to
the whole. On the other hand, and very significantly, although
[613] the first appropriation passes for having been done "by seizure,"
most of the ikhs-s of the Intamlin are still represented at Zahr
ou T'amer.

Same symmetry in the vast "collectives" constituting confines
between Mtugga and Nfifa.

4) At the place called Adder, present site of the Wednesday
[443] market, and which seems to have formerly been more amply irrigated
by the source /223/ of Sidi bu Brahim, is observed a
veritable potpourri of owners belonging to diverse Mtugga subdivisions,
some of them very far away. Thus, analysis of the
[619] lands reveals there Idaw Merzug, Reh'h'âla, Idaw Talilt, and
[634] even some allogeneous Idaw Ziki and Mentaga.

Tradition applies the following saying to Adder: Adder:
[539] taryalt umzil: amesmar enna trit, gis t-tufit, "it is the blacksmith's
basket, no matter what nail you want, you find it there."
Only a more profound analysis could say if that is pure coincidence
or an accidental aggregate, resulting from external causes
like the existence of a thermal saint, or traces of systematic
distribution.

619 The genre of the Mtugga tribe is quite peculiar, as much
from the fact of its size as from the simultaneous play whose
spectacle it offers between a very resistant customary archaism
[121] and the latifundian expansion of the "great families." It would
be perilous to pursue these analogies in depth in a purely comparative
account, the goal of which is not to study their tribal
[671] contexture. May it suffice for us to have noted that, despite such
peculiarity, many emergences of the montagnard law can be revealed.
Those that have been noted here are far from being the
only ones.

/223 cont./

... Mez'ud'a...

619 184 [312) Same reservations, but also same conclusions. Among them, the plain-mountain balance has been preserved up to our day. The tribe presents a homogeneity, perhaps acquired dearly, but which, its more modest proportions helping, rather makes of it the form of unfolding of types that we find, on a more exiguous model, in Haut /Upper/ Seksawa, for example. The factor of originality here is the use of five large séguias from the asif el-Mâl, and which condition the economic and political life of at least the whole East part of the tribe.

631 1) A general study shows that, roughly, the Mez'ud'a plain is like the exposition and amplification of the political divisions of the mountains. Each of the latter projects its zone of ownership over a special sector. Whence constant coming and going, and today, and more and more, double habitat. This same fact is observable in the Dwiran. It has already struck our researchers.

● 613 423 178 2) What has remained unperceived is what degree of detail this agrarian order has reached. Despite the intense appropriation of the plain since the pacification, there remain cultivation communities where the vocation of each ikhs resists all evolutions. Again in 1950 a gentilitial distribution, in terms of the astonishingly ramified and hierarchized system that caps the ikhs-s here, was victoriously imposed, in spite of the privative vivifications, on the largest part of the Ighargharen ground coming back to the a. Gd'id'.

312 613 3) The functioning of the irrigation, a perfect clockwork mechanism, is governed, not by topographical proximity, but by group appurtenance. Whence what would appear to us as difficulties and paradoxes. Thus, it is necessary that, down to the individual echelon, for each /224/ rightful claimant whose turn arrives, there are lands available in the sector watered just at this moment by one or the other of the 5 great séguias diagonally crossing the plain, and which leave between them distances of several kilometers on occasion. There again, as in what concerns the Mtugga, it would be a mistake to pursue in detail

[Mez'ud'a]

312 /224 cont./
• 613 analogies which would come out false, in view of the stage of unfolding and the personal genre of the Mez'ud'a.

184 Let us moreover hail in passing these original developments which not only illustrate the vitality of each group, when it is not struck by decadence, or external troubles, but the liaison of this vitality with particular techniques. The latter are all centered, as Taine would have said, on a "master idea" of the group. Thus, they occasionally reach the consciousness not only of the experts, but of the common citizens.

128 Perhaps one now has the right to systematize some notes, only the most striking of which have been recorded above, but which one could multiply indefinitely, if one did not fear making the enumeration excessively fastidious. But would this indeed be rash? Would it not be necessary first to continue the probings over the whole extent of the Chleuh /Shluh/ world, indeed, more broadly, the Berbère /Berber/ world? We were not able to do it directly, but oral information confirms that the phenomena observed here are found at the very least on the periphery of the tribes of Imintanout, from the Gedmiwa to the Aghbar and to the
171 Idaw Mh'mud. On the other hand, it is superfluous to say that the minutiae of such analyses, involving the twin call on the toponymy, the parcellary topography, and the morphology of the groups, have hardly tempted researchers in the rest of the Maghreb (1).

1. In any case, it would not appear without interest that at the other end of North Africa, in the Aurès, the opportunities for direct investigation have permitted us to find it indeed lively.

A striking trait of the western Aurès is the parallelism of the two great valleys of the Wâd ᶜAbdi and the Wâd Labyod', which constitute two streets of peopling. Life stretches out along these natural paths, in a roughly N.E.-S.W. orientation. Thus it is with the two great rival

/224 cont./

171 /footnote 1 continued/ express an exigency of internal equilibrium. But let us take this isolated rapprochement only for what it would be: merely the bait for more extended controls. (Cf. Archives of the Sénatus Consulte at Aris.)

128 These cross-checkings /225/ thus remain to be done. Only they will be able to infirm or confirm, and consequently to endow with generality or not, the structural law that it is believed has been uncovered here.

121

The "Parcellary Orchestration" (1)

[114] 1. This expression is taken up again, while apologizing for its paradoxical aspect, from the article of 1948, where we set forth our first verifications.

181 Let us return to the Seksawa of the high valleys.
423 Their whole life is marked by a very precise division bearing
• 613 on three orders of facts. The ground is divided into individualized quarters. Time is scanned by the succession of "turns" or-
[805] ganized for irrigation, and the latter is not only an essential
[312] economic base, but a collective symbol, fixing the most vehement aspirations of these rural people. The group is divided into
[592] ikhs-s, themselves distributed in conjugal families, but preserving a role, or rather assuming attributions. There prevails among these three orders of things an exact correspondence.
182 Easily decipherable in the present state, and despite degradations
423 and mutations, it inspires and maintains the deportment of the
613 montagnard, for whom it is at the same time an inveterate or-
[671] ganization, guarantee of persistence, and ideal of legitimacy.
[421] The local land law in this part of the Atlas has no aim other than

182 /225 cont./
423 to safeguard, against all causes of disturbance, and against indi-
613 vidual life in general, these correlations.

671 It is thus explained that, to the astonishment of the agrono-
421 mist, the order of irrigation is gentilitial. Contrary to what
423 economy of effort and the elementary concern to reduce losses
312 due to infiltration and evaporation would impose, it is not the
613 piece of terrain made up of an ensemble of contiguous parcels
that will profit from the turn for water, but the discontinuous domain of an ikhs: as dispersed, as distant on occasion as its fields may be, on that day the irrigation must skip over important intervals in order to go from one to the other. This discontinuity itself is the rule, because, in each of the quarters, each ikhs must have its share. All sorts of conservative mechanisms thereupon come to limit the possibilities of landed-property mutations: sales or successions, /226/ violent dispossessions. In the present state still, wherever the ground is flourishing, the techniques well preserved, the commune lively, this rotation of the water and this distribution of the parcels tend toward perfection. Whence it comes that the classic form of the property is neither the ample piece lying together nor even the cluster of neighboring fields, but a patrimonial sampling. The average cultivator has a hundred parcels at his disposal, each of which is sometimes reduced to a few square meters. The formula is not viable from an economic point of view. But what does it matter to the montagnard? He has, according to the expression of the native documents, "his name in every quarter." A distributive ideal is thus attained. It is also an ideal of variety. The parcels are defined by their fitting in among those of others having rights. The smallness of the areas helping, their limitation is not material, but personal, not topographical, but anthroponymic. That emerges clearly from local writings, where they are defined by the name of the quarter and of the four borderers, without any other precision of boundaries. The appurtenance to the ikhs and the insertion in such and such a quarter provide sufficient identification. A paradoxical trait in a peasant society where boundary conflicts are traditionally frequent.

/226 cont./

423 A whole "parcellary orchestration" is thus glimpsed here,
312 each ikhs putting at the same time in all the quarters of the
● 613 ground its fields, which, the day having come, the exact time-switch of the turns for water animates. Scansion of agricultural time in turns for water, internal equilibrium of the group in agnatic subgroups, classification imposed by the understanding for the ground: these three elements are combined in a coherent system.

What origin to ascribe to such a perfect arrangement? The
[829] user himself does not imagine the cause of it. His spontaneous gesture, when one interrogates him on this law, is to point with his finger at the interlacing of the cane in the mat where he is seated: each sprig corresponds to a parcel. What he has an intuition of, in fact, is an ensemble linked by inextricable solidarities. But that is a feeling. Research must be more demanding.

121 The first explanation that would come to mind is that of
[191] these divisions of inheritance which, in two milieus paradoxically far apart, end in the open field /the words in italics are in English in the original source/ and the strip fields of the European
619 North, the muchā^{c} of Syria, samplings of the same type. But
634 what creates the difficulty, and at the same time the interest of the Haut-Atlasic example, is that the taqbilt is not in any way an enlarged, even fictive, family. The social link, indeed avowed and conscious, does not at all consist here in the ramification of a /227/ family stock. If, within the ikhs, the attachment of the
[613] different "foyers," takatin, to one another is genealogical and
[592] amenable to the successoral law, it is completely different for the attachment of the ikhs-s between themselves within the group: their connection, which it will be necessary to define more closely, is entirely different. It is necessary to look elsewhere than in divisions of inheritance for the source of an agrarian order.

121 An original collectivism, which might more or less maintain itself in the Atlas? The hypothesis is tempting. To tell the truth, it calls for a judgment on the age and the character of these
[423] societies. On the other hand, it runs counter to what we know

/227 cont./

121 about the type of appropriation of land that, in the majority of
[423] the examples known, corresponds to the tree and water techniques: that is, the privative form. Such a singularity should
not be set aside *a priori*, any more than a likewise persistent reminder of primitive communitarian modalities. Nevertheless,
bearing in mind the willing climate of this life, the effort, systematic and localizable at a certain moment in the past, which
the construction of the grounds often expresses, one also evokes
[613] conscious divisions among subjects of law. The occupation and
improvement of the soil conquered or created at all points over
the wasteland, the forest, the slope have been able to bring as
a corollary their balanced distribution among participants: these
subgroups, called *ikhs*-s, and which would be united among
themselves by connections of a type complicated in a manner
other than consanguinity. It is also possible that this plural equilibrium expresses a readjustment of the group, its reaction
against an external threat or internal decadence.

Order of work or social reform, this type of division is presented to us at a recent epoch. It reflects a spirit at the same
time ratiocinating and communitarian, altruistic and responsible,
of which this inquiry will observe the constant manifestation.
Thus it is that the Idma, having recovered their Tasselli territory
from the a. H'adduyws, redistributed it. At Tabratjut, the old
[691] order was re-established, but not without alterations, at the close
of a litigation with wild perturbations. Other examples might be
cited. They abound in the daily jurisprudence of the *jemâa*-s.

What we have called "the parcellary orchestration" could thus arise from a stage of origin or more modern arrangements. Ethnological hypothesis or historical hypothesis: let us not choose between the two for the moment.

The Coefficient of Breadth

103 The humanity of the high valleys invests in its tiny domain enormous expenditures of energy: work, organization, and also denominations. Because the concentration of the toponymy there

/228 cont./

121 and which would call for irrelevant quantitative comparisons,
423 one nevertheless suspects, in the limited cadre of the western Haut-Atlas, great inequalities between grounds. Consequently, have we not risked basing our description excessively on the limited case of the irrigated ravine, while other aspects, visually broader, also decisive economically, likewise call for analysis? /229/ And, on the other hand, what inexactitude would there not have been in imagining that the montagnard reality presents itself everywhere with equal rigor!

Phenomena of erosion or of disuse can, even in the irrigated, bring on the collapse of the system. Above all, it is the juridical inextricability, itself resulting from a weakening of the communitarian life: in the complexity of the old gentilitial formula the
(178) young generations were no longer met with again. Weary of war, a jemâa agreement substitutes, for the former devolution of water by ikhs, a watering by contiguous pieces.

But beside this factor of more or less great integrity of the montagnard type, another, doubtlessly of major importance, intervenes: its degree of spread in space.

423 If one turns one's attention from the valley land in order to
184 put it on the high surfaces for rye, for example, one finds that
243 two essential elements are missing for verifying the structural rule
[312] that we have defined: no division of time into turns for water, and for reason; and fewer minutiae in the toponyms. The life of
[181] the heights is less willing, less refined, looser. The simultaneous
[613] implantation of all the ikhs-s is more theoretical than real. For
[492] this agriculture, distant from the village, requires means of transport, the harness or at the very least the beast of burden. It is not within the reach of all. Not all risk it. It is an agriculture of representative ambitious ones, not of egalitarian citizens. Operating in a social milieu less finely innervated, if I may venture to say it, deprived of this permanent exercise of will and equilibrium, and also of this measure of time that irrigation constitutes, it correlatively puts up with a haziness of the law and a haziness of the techniques: irregular fallowings, returns to wasteland, abandonment of an overly poor harvest, submission to the hazards of the snowfall and of the pluviometry.

/229 cont./

423 To what extent is a gentilitial distribution, in itself called
613 upon to subdivide itself among foyers by a drawing of lots, practicable
in the case where superficies, human forces, and water
619 module assume a breadth more important than in the narrow
184 canton? It then seems that a sort of dilation is imparted to the elements in the case. New subdivisions are intercalated between the basic subgroups and the individual: thus the three "thirds" of the a. H'adduyws, the binary rhythm of the a. Lh'sen, the localization by villages of the Idma "minor ikhs-s." All the more reason that it would appear among the Mez'ud'a, where a generous plains affluence presents something like a magnifying projection of the tribal structure. Apart from a certain order of grandeur, the notion of ikhs is lost /230/ as a basis of distribution. Then conventional divisions intervene, such as in Mez'ud'a the "centuries," myawat, which become the subjects
[671] of law. And the law is ramified by degrees down to the "foyer," takat, but not without putting into play other measures of debit and of agricultural surface. That is all the more marked in Mez'ud'a, because beside such distributions for the water from the channels of the asif el-Mâl, the distribution of source water remains gentilitial. On the one hand, the solution of breadth, on the other, solution of narrowness. This coefficient of contraction or of dilation, of grain more or less loose or held together is essential for the interpretation of the facts. One realizes that by
619 the example of the Mez'ud'a. Again in this tribe it is a matter
634 of the harmonious enlargement of a taqbilt of traditional type, an enlargement whose steps are to be read clearly in the present
184 structures. More vast, more complex, and above all more instructive would be the Mtugga example, which covers an immense country and some thirty thousand souls. The ensemble is composed of several taqbilt-s substantial enough themselves to interpose one or two other levels of classification between them and the ikhs-s that compose them.

423 Thus the elements of the montagnard order: gentilitial
613 division of the soil, vitality of the equilibrium among ikhs-s,
184 parcellary orchestration, are subject to different fates as one

/230 cont./

423 •613 184 approaches the plain or as the system is worn away. But perhaps even more in terms of the geographical breadth of the phenomena studied. Thus analysis leads here to the idea of variations in the space, to which we shall have to return.

171 The Coefficient of Value (1)

1. H. Lhote, Comment campent les Touareg /How the Tuareg camp/, 1947, p. 21, notes the clear division of the course among the Saharan Touareg, contrasting with its promiscuous character among the Sudanese Touareg.

312 423 In many cases, the division of the water by turns intervenes only in a period of low water. Another method is established when the waters are high. The distinction of these two rhythms of abundance or of low water is, moreover, a constant motif. [177] It governs the relations between Seksawa and downstream beneficiaries, Dwiran and Ud Bessebā^{c}. Correlatively, scarcity brings into play, this would be in the matter of pasturage, narrow divisions. Thus, in Ibuban, at Tugg Lkheyr and at Timskert, the compression of the villages by the arête of the Ameznir, where the territory of the a. Mh'and begins, entails this extraordinary thing: the division of the pasturage by "cairns," lkraker.

829 Certainly, other causes can intervene. Thus this condensation /231/ of toponymy and also of human interests and work, even of affectivity, which characterize, in relation to the vast extent of mountain spaces, the tillage ground and its heart: the irrigated ground. In all the cases, a common element prevails: that of the value /Fr. prix/ attached by these men to such and such of their goods: land for cultivation, water, or pasture, in terms of its narrowness, its rarity, or other elements more obscure for us. This perspective of rarity is, in relation to the great arable stretches of plain, such as in Chaouia or in Tadla, very characteristic of the Atlas. Another consequence of the evolution

/231 cont./

829 which has gathered on an exiguous land a humanity with solid virtues, with no less solid appetites. But other considerations can come into play. For example, the sentimental hierarchy which puts in the first rank the ensemble constituted by the village and its irrigations. This ensemble is instinctively considered as the replica of the group itself, linked to it by strict correspondences, verifiable on the echelon of the individual, and inspired by a distributive ethic.

423 From this angle, the parcellary orchestration would appear as a law of equalization of chances, with a view to the use of the water or of the soil. It would be the rectification imposed by man on the precariousness of the milieu. The infinite parceling-out of the lands and their distribution by grounds reflect in certain respects a tendency to put each member of the collectivity in possession of similar means. Also this division of the risks increases as the value attributed to the soil is diversified, individualized, fractioned into units almost personal -- or possessing at the very least a personality, that of the name.

171 As linked as it may be to montagnard impoverishment, such comportment is not without analogy in the rest of the Maghreb. The intense vitality of the agricultural association has been justly defined as a means of struggling against the hazards of the milieu (1).

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1. That is a central motif of the thesis of L. Milliot, L'association agricole chez les Musulmans du Maghreb /Agricultural association among the Mussulmans of the Maghreb/, 1911.

613 571 619 121 171 Thus the equalization of the chances is sought, not as here, in an internal equilibrium among ikhs-s, but in economic solidarity among individuals. Not in the statutory relations among subgroups in the taqbilt, but in the multiplication of contractual bonds. Beneath these differences of form disguising a similitude of objective, doubtlessly opens a fruitful path of comparison between North African societies.

[Ait H'adduyws]

/259 cont./

776 778 c) Three mosques particularly armed with powers, and presenting along with that of Ifesfas, which has been mentioned above, the common character /260/ of being built outside a village: perhaps a trace of rites putting the taqbilt more directly into play. Thus, the timezgida Wissil of Uzaga, the t. Wuzir of Tinerghat, the Sidi Ljâmâ of Alus. Cne is to note this last name marking a sort of intermediary stage between two orders of ideas: it is a "Saint-the-Mosque";

d) Twenty-one "village mosques."

This would be a total of 34 ritual places, among which only 4 are amenable to a personal hagiology. Not even one in eight! [162] [613] The a. H'adduyws number some 2,700 inhabitants, divided into some thirty ikhs-s. It should be noted that the a. Khaled and the a. Ggahi of Tasa have for ancestors the two Yah'ya, whose tombs are shown and on the subject of whom the rudiments of a legend are told. They are not saints, however. And, moreover, these stories of ancestors are quite exceptional.

121 128 778 It would be a wager to pursue this quantitative approach to the sacred in Seksawa. It necessarily omits nuances and suffers from multiple sources of imprecision or error. It was attempted, after all, only from a reaction against the descriptive excesses, the generalizing samplings of a certain sociology.

776 778 [162] Nevertheless let us confront the results obtained: The sample dealt with 8 or 9 cantons, a. H'adduyws, I. Geryun, Imt'd-dan, a. Lh'sen, Ibuban, Sekrat, Iguntar, a. Musa, that is, a total population of about 8,000 souls. For about a hundred ritual places, one counts less than ten saints with personal figure, a great majority of anonymous, indeterminate ones. And one verifies the predominant part of the "sacred of timezgida," where it is undoubtedly legitimate to see a communal sacred.

779 346 671 Now if one bears in mind that, even at present, this timezgida remains par excellence the place of the life of the group, one finds that an important part of the law of these societies can

/274 cont./

794 Third aspect, linked to the preceding: that of the combination of all these affinities on the local echelon. Although in principle it is a matter of negotiations purely contractual, spontaneous, and which respond, in a number of cases, to the chance of the passage of a wandering saint, or of a favor received, the homogeneity of the milieu brings about certain regularities: in all the mountain of Imintanout, it is the house of Tamgrut and that of the a. Tamment (Sidi Âbdallah u Sâid) which drain off the maximum of offerings. But all /275/ this in dispersed order. Sometimes it is the whole canton, sometimes only the village, sometimes only a family of the village that dedicate an offering to such-and-such a saint.

794 184 /The next four paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ It is in this way that in Idma the aristocratic gens of the Iseqqalen pay annually to Sidi Âbdallah u Sâid one sheep per flock and one measure out of 40 of the harvest for each of its subdivisions established in a village at Tasselli, Usikis, Tannsmekht, Talmud'ât. In a. Abdella, only two ikhs-s, the one of Bûl^{c}wân, the other of Agawz, furnish the mârûf of Sidi Âbderrahman u Sâid, which takes place in September. [613]

Other examples. In a. Musa, two groups, those "from above" and those "from below," are in opposition to each other. The former owe Lalla Aziza a measure of barley and half a one of maize per foyer, plus a goat. The latter apply another system: half of the first basketful, taryalt, of barley taken from the threshing floor, the other half going to Sidi Mh'and, plus a kharruba of maize per foyer. But even within these groups, certain villages have particular devotions. That of Igernsuq, for example, sometimes dissociates itself from the general regime. It has been seen that this dissociation may, in the matter of feasts, go down to the ikhs. [613]

In a. Âbdella, Tuz'z'umt annually pays Tamgrût a measure of olives, one of barley, one of almonds, and a sheep per foyer. Ilutjan, immediately downstream, pays to Sidi Âbdallah u Sâid some barley, maize, oil, and the butter of two Fridays. Bûl^{c}wân does not pay chchard' to the outside.

/280 cont./

182 distribution, solidarities extending to the whole Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble are at work. But also Islamic devotion, which, in certain aspects, is critique and reason. We must therefore make great allowance for evolutions which not only efface or revive such-and-such an event, but modify its relations with the rest. Whence the necessity to bear in mind at every moment the proportion and the level of phenomena. The intimacy of the juridical institution, for example, will be grasped only when the distinction is made between what in it is dependent on "prelaw" in relation to the judiciary system on one hand, on the law in relation to usage and folklore on the other. Same distinctions to be established in the study of the religious life.

The prudence that is imposed on our course by a terrain so rich in denivellations prohibits for the moment making conclusions on a fundamental problem: that of the relations of the agnatic group with the ritual life. As they are presently observed, they belong to a layer of folklore to which one cannot legitimately attribute structural value. It would be too easy to speak of degrada-
[613] tions or recent evolutions. And the existence of a law of patrimonial balance among the different ikhs-s could not for the moment be attributed, without petitio principii, to a claimed
[613] [769] stage of origin. Thus let us leave the question hanging. Let us note in any case that the persistence of the ikhs should have favored the birth of a hagiology of ancestors. But there is nothing of it. Figures of this sort are paradoxically rare in a country with lineage legitimacy. No heroes, no gilded legend. But the indi-
[776] vidual on one hand, communal synthesis on the other, and, above all, a personage who has centralized the largest part of the supernatural of the Seksawa. Let us look at this personage more closely.

794 /289/ Such are the regular revenues, veritable fisc of the holiness, which the foqra collect on a side of the Atlas populated by some 45,000 souls. But it is necessary to increase these figures tenfold if one adds the fortuitous: offerings brought sometimes from great distances on the occasion of feasts or after vows, and peregrinating quests made individually. These quests make the foqra traverse the two versants of the mountain and lead them into all the groups of the circum-Tichka ensemble.

794 The liaison of these collections to the agricultural calendar
221 clothes them in a very vivid naturist color. In these high valleys
it is sometimes the cessation of the snowfall and of the constant
[782] water in the bed of the torrents that leads to the opening of the
ditches and then gives rise to offerings or propitiatory sacrifices;
sometimes the successive harvests or gatherings (barley, maize,
794 almonds, walnuts) that set into motion the opening rite. In all
[592] cases, a meticulous collective solidarity spreads the obligation and
the benediction that follows over the ensemble of the foyers, I
mean the conjugal foyers in the narrow sense, takatin. And in-
794 deed it is to be observed that the order of distribution is not genti-
613 litial. There are certainly particular devotions by such-and-such
an ikhs to such-and-such a saint. But the grouping of villages
among them, for the service of the offering, occasionally also
breaks away from the solidarity of habitat or of taqbilt. The most
[592] habitual division of the collective financings of profane type is
that which is most generally applied in the matter: it is calculated
on the effective force of the foyers. And this mode has prevailed
over the gentilitial rhythm, so much more suitable for the agrar-
ian order and the structure of the groups. This exclusion of the
ikhs as the base of religious fiscality is to be kept in mind.

794 Among the commodities subject to the tithe, let us note that
[137] if the maize, a relatively recent plant (sixteenth century), figures in it, and has probably supplanted millet there, the mention of the olive, wealth of the lower valley, but which ascends to Z'init', is rare. The reasons for this anomaly are forgotten. Perhaps it expresses only a montagnard style, the bulk of the nationals of Lalla Aziza living above the limit of the olive tree.

/302 cont./

175 by ait. The names of these families are: Abû'l-^{c}Arûf, Ulwâh',
602 Mbârek, ^{c}Abd as-Salâm, Sa^{c}îd u H'sayn, Mbârk u Belgâsem. No
428 other remark is to be made concerning the dispersion of the line,
776 thus confirmed from the seventeenth century, and which must have
ended in a total effacement, since today only the guardians of the
tomb claim the benefice, but as foqra and not as descendants.
[613] Nevertheless, it is necessary to note that one of their ikhs bears
the interesting name of a. Iz'm, "people of the Lion," and it is
known that this surname is attested to historically in the chronicle
of the kings of the fourteenth century.

4) Other old Seksawa acts concern the history of the ensemble of the populations of the high valley rather than simply that of the saint. Thus, a ççadaqa of 976 Heg.: 1569, a genealogy of the a. D'alh'a of 1144 Heg.: 1732, and a genealogy of the a. Umgan, an ancient population vanished today, but claiming in this act of 1244 Heg.: 1828 an ancestry of ^{c}Amr, again through ^{c}Abd Allah, and which offers the curious likelihood that the lapse of twenty generations that is detailed there name by name indeed takes us back, it too, to the fourteenth century.

776 The conclusion to be drawn from these documents is that they
postulate, certainly not an attested filiation from the royal person-
[175] ages of the Middle Ages up to our day, but a belief in this filiation.
[602] From our point of view, this comes to almost the same thing.
Nevertheless, the cult that they authorize is neither that of an ancestor nor that of a hero. Significant thing. In spite of his liaison with the Eponym, it is as a mediocre saint, for whom it seemed necessary to recreate a legend of early epoch, that Sidi ^{c}Amer very indifferently survives. This is so true that in the course of the ages periodical reclassifications seem to have intervened, bringing to light a list of rightful claimants more and more full and indistinct, until it finally disappeared as a consequence of its own super- /303/ abundance or the forgetfulness of the faithful. Thus are fixed, at chronologically identifiable stages of the tradition, some names, among which the one of a certain ^{c}Abd Allah stands out, and some places where one finds mention of the principal groups of the circum-Tichka ensemble, this true cadre of our story.

/332 cont./

695 571 Besides it is possible that the diminution, at least following our intervention, of the effective force of the swearers, formerly considerable in case of murder, for example, has impoverished the institution. Here are some datable indications that permit conjecturing so.

[175] /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ An act of 1257 Heg.: 1841, from the lower valley and referring "to the time of the sultanian h'âkim Ibn Abdeççadoq," that is, to a more or less makhzanian ambiance, constitutes a declaration of insolvency for a quinquagenarian cojuratio in a murder case. This insolvency is certified by twelve witnesses — the rate of the lafîf: a curious point of junction between two procedural orders.

175 695 ● 613 An act of 1233 Heg.: 1818 (a. H'adduyws) reveals a trait differently archaic. During the course of ceremonies not described, but which doubtlessly were dependent on pacts of alliance, and after a solemn declaration at the timezgida of Tasstuft (Sidi Lah'sen u Tiqqi), subdivisions of ikhs of the Idaw Geryun fix among themselves the order of taking plural oaths. A serious action and involving the future. The a. Benâisa of Messdat speak also in the name of their progeny to come. Protestations of mutual and eternal pardon are exchanged. Finally, they agree on a fixed order in which future ceremonies will be performed. First, such-and-such a family of the a. D'alh'a (the a. Bubker) will swear, then such-and-such another one of the same ikhs, in third place the a. Benâisa of Messdat. "If they are required to swear, they will mutually support one another."

[674] Such a text is important. It refers to oath-takings where the agnatic family does not succeed in furnishing the allowed number of coswearers; this is notably the case for criminal questions. The present pact thus constitutes in certain respects a mutual assurance against the imputation of murder. The alliance between a. D'alh'a and a. Messdat suggests, besides, possible interferences between a genealogical system and contractual agreements: the prospects thus opened are rich. Now, the date of such a pact

175 /333/ is quite recent: barely from the last century, where it
695 jarred as an archaism. Finally, the manifestation at the *timez-*
613 *gida*, the use of Mussulman roots arousing religious notions, those of *s.m.h'*, *gh.f.r.*, *ch.h.d.*, proceed from the tone voluntarily conferred on — or added to — the operation. In this pact of fraternity, a distant reminder perhaps of those that Berbère /Berber/ antiquity mentions, notably for the Almohade period, it is remarkable that the sacramental *initium* thus assumed puts in first place two families of the a. D'alh'a. This is explained by their authority as descendants of the Seksawa kings. And outside of the case at hand, one thus catches a glimpse of interesting juridical hierarchies between *ikhs*-s, completing other hierarchies inherent in the agrarian order.

175 But here is what chills, if need be, the beginnings of primi-
695 tivist enthusiasm on the part of the investigator. In an act from the same valley, much older, since it is from 981 Heg.: 1573, a *fqih*, Abdelâziz b. Brahim, renders an opinion according to which the enemy's testimony must be rejected. A moral criticism breaks through here. Some scrupulous ones state that they will not take an oath any more. Henceforth, no rule of kinship, no rule of performance will any longer be able to make them participate in a *cojuratio*. In 1206 Heg.: 1792, at Azend'o, a personage whom one feels to be pious and sedate attests that "he henceforth will not take an oath any more, either for his brothers, for his children, or for any other person. He is standing aside," *radda nafsahu fī jihat*, and "is returning," *tâb*, "to God for the rest of his days." Such an individual evasion, such a renunciation of the social contract, seems to have been rarer here than in the Sous, for example, where it gave rise to a particular juridical form.

But what complexity, what anachronism in the matter! Criticism of testimony in the sixteenth century, scruples of the Géronte in the eighteenth, pact of solidarity in the nineteenth. Let us note this persistent trait of the system: the juxtaposition that it presents of the most heteroclite, the most anachronistic elements. There is no doubt that the pact of sacramental fraternity taken up by the Idaw Geryun groups is no more archaic in tone than a criticism of testimony. Now the second is in fact

/337 cont./

594 /footnote 1 continued/ cantons that did not
171 bring about their "synoecism." To return to
114 concrete observations, a thorough study of the ikhs in Morocco was undertaken by R. Montagne in a series of works published in Hesp. beginning in 1924, and also Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le S. du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930, pp. 43 sq., 218. R. Montagne consequently will affirm the importance of the patriarchal family, for example, very recently, in Naissance du Prolétariat marocain /Birth of the Moroccan proletariat/, 1950, pp. 21 sq. G. Marcy, Le droit coutumier Zemmour /The Zemmour customary law/, 1949, pp. 1 sq., insists on the importance of the agnatic group, although he has posed the conjugal family as "elementary cell." He had already expressed this idea, especially in "L'alliance par colactation /Alliance by colactation/." II^{e} Congrès de la Fédération des Sociétés savantes/, 1936.

121 Let us suppose that groups, inversely to the exigencies of an
594 individualist logic, were determined from the more to the less ex-
613 tensive rather than by an amplification that began with the individual. This idea of Durkheim's has a chance of being verified historically by the Berbères /Berbers/, whose present fragmentation could have been preceded by vast conjunctions. The study of the great ensembles of the medieval Maghreb, then that of the leagues of the recent past, then of the confederations, /338/ tribes, cantons, would bring to that of the agnatic family (1)

1. Cf., on the "undivided agnatic family," the ideas of G. Davy, Sociologues d'hier et d'aujourd'hui /Sociologists of yesterday and today/, 1950, 2nd edit., pp. 109 sq. The slightly

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121 /footnote 1 continued/ different term that
613 we employ seems to us to correspond better
594 to the reality described. Its definition is no
less opposed, in the fashion indicated by G.
Davy, to the patriarchal family.

and, in second place, of the conjugal family more and more precise foundations and a progressively lighted background.

The familial life is par excellence the meeting place for the
most diverse orders of facts: magic, folklore, mode, positive
right, morality, religion. The demarcation between them is
594 tenuous. Which of them to choose as the most revealing? Now,
613 for the Seksawa it is the familial law that refers most to Mussul-
183 man ethics. It wants to recognize only the individual person and
refer in everything to the norms of the fiqh. Truthfully speaking,
it is a matter of a theoretical profession rather than of a real
practice. An ideal result, if one wishes, but one that this society
intends for itself. A point of arrival also, if one bears in mind
that the constructions of the past disclose, to the extent that one
can investigate them, something quite different. But when to date
the change? And was there change for an appreciable period?

594 The first approach of our inquiry gave on that, and precisely
613 in what concerns the mountain societies, results of a nature to in-
spire prudence. The habitat, the style of life, and even the food
appeared to us as clearly divided on the echelon of the conjugal
family. Let us then be led by the observable actuality to an
initial approximation of the fleeting social reality that forms the
subject of this chapter. Like the usager, one will concentrate
one's attention on the conjugal family, takat, genealogically
linked to the common ancestor of all the other families of the
ikhs. Let us define the latter as a "differentiated agnatic family,"
ending in the individual — man or woman — as subject of rights.
613 The ikhs itself is suppressed in the shadows, along with the other
bases of all that has not become an institution approved by the
commune and subjected to the stamp of the written word. But it
sometimes also crops out on the plane of the judicial dispute. On

/338 cont./
613 the occasion of plural oaths, it is the most closely drawn circle
of agnates that is invited to confer on the litigant its balance /Fr.
613 appoint/. Conservative mechanisms, such as the chchfâa or the
423 habous /wakf/, are applied to maintain or re-establish a patrimonial
immutability, less familial in the narrow sense than gentilitial, against any land alienation or leasing. The /339/ ancient act to which one party, the açl, will allege an exception, and which has the more worth as it becomes older, many times consists of a simple unilateral affirmation of the land rights of the ancestor. The genealogical tree, chchajara, and the successoral distribution, lmirath, archival documents manifesting the agnatic continuity, play a decisive role in the proceedings. An instinct for reconstitution stands in opposition to the dispersive force of inheritances and personal enterprise. Between rich cousin and poor cousins, it animates and obscurely justifies these takings and retakings that tradition and opinion liken less to usurpation than to escheat or a sort of permanent revenge between rightful co-claimants. This alone justifies and authorizes the existence of a gentilitial agrarian order.

613 All the effort of the jurisprudence, were it that of the great
671 cadis of the Sous, has been dedicated to serving rather than
amending this situation. It is that the ikhs thrust itself, with all its attachments of public law, upon the private law. Conjugal foyers on the one side, city on the other are pendant, one might say, on the two sides of the ikhs. In it is their point of junction, on each side of which profoundly different social rhythms reign. On the one side kinship and alliance, justiciable to the memory of the living, and finding their practical application in each successoral dispute. This is the reign of the writing. On the other side, larger and larger classifications are drawn up in echelon from the ikhs to the smallest political unit, the taqbilt, and from there perhaps to the great legendary divisions of North Africa: Maçmûda, Zenâta, etc. There the reign of unwritten law begins.

At the antipode of this gentilitial life, here is the individual person. Not only is it the single subject in the eyes of the law,

/339 cont./

613 but the displays or the subterfuges that the old Chleuh /Shluh/
671 procedure has been prodigal with to maintain against it some-
thing of the old solidarities are in sum only a trifle in compari-
son with the primacy that it holds for the mores. One will see
this notably in the matter of the division of acquests and of
matrimonial customs. In both cases, the "patriarchal" and
statutory character gives way to an individual and contractual
character more pronounced than any analogous one that can be
observed in the alleged Islamic model. In this matter the
Chleuh /Shluh/ system goes beyond the *fiqh*. The influence of
the gentilitial organizations, although combated by orthodoxy,
its notariate and its conception of personal rights, could resist
them, but not prevail over a powerful local tradition, that of
egalitarian computation between conjoints, parents and children.
These three influences have nevertheless interfered, and all three
are to be found, although to unequal degrees, in the different
sectors of the familial institution.

/340/ Morphology of Marriage in Seksawa

584 Each year, at the feast of the Mīlād, young men and young
[796] women from the surroundings stream to the holy place of Z'init'.
The attraction is exerted as far as in Mentaga to the S., up to the
ᶜAbda to the N. It is the market for wives. Couples, who only
rarely ask for the parents' approval, form according to their sym-
pathies. In certain cases, however, the fiancée "presents" her
fiancé to her family, which goes to accompany him home. Most
often, it is necessary to say, the unions have nothing at all that
could satisfy the moralist. "But," as an *amghar* of the Seksawa
[776] told me, "one must believe that the saint delights in it, for her
[778] *baraka* guarantees the prosperity of these marriages and makes up
for the sometimes considerable delays of the usual betrothals."
[582] This market for girls, especially dear to the plains Arab wooers
who come here to choose a montagnard woman to their liking, has
lasting fruits. The single village of Z'init' has at the present
time three of its women who have married sanctimoniously into
the single H'mer tribe.

/347 cont./

585 171 institutions in order to account for their originality (2).

> 2. The comparison with the neighboring Ud Bessebâ^c is characteristic. The "masculinity" of their mores is so marked that the woman often gives up the rights that the fiqh gives her, such as, for example, the /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ food allowance for the children. To tell the truth, the Moroccan ^{c}Amal has naturally registered as a "Bedouin" practice the calculation of an indemnity corresponding to the si^{c}âya of the woman, that is, to her comings and goings outside the house. This is what is called the kidd and what the cadis willingly apply to Berbère /Berber/ tribes subject to the chra^c /Sharira/, such as the Mtugga and the Mez'ud'a.

/348/ The Family In Time

● 613 Under such a rubric will be grouped aspects that a classification excessively steeped in our manuals would study successively by the titles of filiation, the state of persons, guardianship, successoral status, adoption, and foundation (1).

> 1. This is what is done by J. Lafond, Les sources du droit coutumier dans le Sous /The sources of customary law in the Sous/, 1948, pp. 47 sq.

This family in time, which is also, as one has seen, a family in space, is the ikhs. Now its traits appear only in the form of twists or of subterfuges, of flights from the fiqh. This is, moreover, a classic method, but here one whose coherence, obstinacy as

/348 cont./

613 though encircled, stubbornness goaded by scruples scarcely have an analogue elsewhere in North Africa.

613 779 178 671 The agnatic law in fact among the Seksawa collides not only with the Mussulman adherence, but with the notarial genre. No part of their system is dominated more by the fiqh, that is to say, in this case by the formularies. That is to be understood from the writing's having come, with its prestige, to support and at the same time to distort the memory of the group. Whence a very curious technological richness: under the names of tenzil, istirkab, assyas, tarikt, tabanni, waçiyya, ççadaqa, is refined and specified, but always in terms of the writing, a juridical personality that, in the matter of matrimonial law, as has been seen, was always able to remain exorbitant of abstract schemata. Nothing surprising in this contrast. In the adaptation to the fiqh, this part of the system, out of lack or perhaps out of excess of original substance, has shown more resistance and at the same time more docility than the rest.

613 More docility, vulnerability, because the development of the act, portative justification, individual weapon, mobilizable property, found in the contractual sense of the milieu an unheard-of adjuvant. By that it easily outweighed all the other mnemonic methods and benefited from the overwhelming superiority that writing manifested when it was a matter of fixing a time, a name, a circumstance. But more resistance also, for the permanence of the ikhs, the profound accent of its life remain inseparable from its material support, inconceivable without its articulation with the /349/ agrarian structures and, more broadly, with the physical and moral rhythms of these societies. This point has already been studied. We shall return to it in the chapter devoted to the landed-property law, apropos institutions such as the habous /wakf/ and the ççadaqa.

178 Thus, since the generalization of writing in the Atlas during the sixteenth century, a divergent evolution has been produced, separating from each other, at the very least in the mode of expression, the two faces of the local genius. It has sharpened, by a technique incessantly more active, fortified by a mass of

/349 cont./
178 archives incessantly more abundant, instincts of litigious individu-
alism. It has driven back into the background, on the other hand,
although without abolishing the force of them, these landowner
bases of the family that link it by degrees to the great classifica-
tory entities of the country. Such a rupture was serious. Genera-
tor of deeper and deeper conflicts, it will end up being fatal for
the local personality. It has not yet been so for the Seksawa
family, at least where no external factor has come, as in a.
Abdella, to make the forces of breakup prevail.

But everything has become a notarial affair. The village
212 t't'aleb, with functions quite laden with communal virtue, it is
671 true, has become the artisan and, in certain respects, the arbiter
178 of the juridical permanence of the group. The continuity of the
[538] latter in time has certainly lost in part original modes of expres-
sion such as — one can at least imagine it — the heroic legend or
choral poetry. It is no longer expressed except under the abstract
schemata of the act, of the formulary. But it has brought to it its
competitive fervor and its sense of olden times. To the point that
these acts have proliferated immensely, the mountains have be-
come a library of charters, and all this literature has even known
there a historical density inconceivable in the Morocco of the
plains, or the so-called cities of written law.

• 613 How distorting a mode of expression! Of itself it caused the
671 essential to escape. By law of genre, it transposed and mutilated
what it allowed to pass. Of the two faces of the familial law, the
one that concerns the group and the land, on the one hand, the
one that concerns the contentious individuals, on the other hand,
only the second could thus show through, and yet at the price of
613 stylizations. However that may be, and with these reservations,
such archives can restore, across several centuries, the perma-
671 nence of families. It is thus that the name of the principal ikhs-s
178 and their disposition, still present, appear throughout the last four
centuries in the acts called inçâf, "repressive tariffication," but
in which we can already observe that they express a right, not
gentilitial, but communal.

613 /350/ /The following paragraph is in small type in the original
175 source./ Here is an act of 1168 Heg.: 1755. It concerns
[623] the jemâa of Ad'erdur (Idma). It specifies the ikhs of each of the
personages mentioned: A. Abbû, a. Ikru, a. Ighechchi (today:
a. Dris), a. Arbâi (today Ichâwiyin), Azarra (disappeared), a.
613 Bjikko (disappeared), a. Bajja. That is, 8 ikhs-s as opposed to
178 only 6 today, among which one finds the a. Ikru, a. Uchâwi, a.
Dris, a. Bakkin. Two have disappeared. Others have dissolved and are no longer counted as ikhs-s. The laws of these evolutions would merit a monographic analysis, which cannot be undertaken here. Roughly, these ikhs-s, each of which furnished an assistant for the chief of the village, are still the same as in our day. Examples of such permanence, unheard of with regard to the incertitudes of the Morocco of the plains, would be indefinitely renewable.

594 It is true that there we are fully in public law. The atmosphere
671 is quite different as soon as one passes to acts concerning
the conjugal family: and the latter is alone to appear here either at the moment of its constitution by marriage or on the occasion of all the acts implying its exercise or its perpetuation.

597 "Adoption," assyas, tabannî, constitutes a first divergence
671 with the orthodox system. One thus sees crop up on the plane of
sworn law a form that elsewhere in North Africa has remained on
[171] that of suppletory custom (1). It is nevertheless rare in Seksawa, and these lateral modes of augmentation of the family are far from assuming there the same importance as elsewhere. The strict adaptation to the fiqh has eliminated here the interferences between the pacts of work or of alliance and filiation, so characteristic of the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas. An effect, let us say, of "acculturation." The Seksawa system diverges from the fiqh on another point. One knows that in the latter representation does not exist. Trace perhaps of an

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1. Cf. G.-H. Bousquet and R.-P. Demeerseman, "L'adoption dans la famille tunisienne /Adoption in the Tunisian family/," R. afr., 1937.

/352 cont./

593 421 generation, like new sediments, humble advances that the labor of man realizes, such is the peasant ideal that this classic form of the proceedings reveals. Primus brings against Secundus a chchfâa resulting from the existence of a habous set up by his great-grandfather. The purchase consented to by the father of Primus, which Secundus is referring to, is then null. But Secundus demonstrates that the foundation only dealt with an area far smaller than the landed property now claimed and that such-and-such extensions were realized, after the habous, by the grandfather and the father. The discussion is then oriented toward verifications of the civil state of the parcels by the production of old "nominative inventories," jrida.

613 423 The division of labor between these familial co-operators coincides most often with a landed-property indivision that may branch out, over the lapse of several generations, indeed over the whole history of an ikhs, into monstrous juridical arborescences. [428] The woman inheriting, in principle, on the pattern of the fiqh, the minors and incompetents are then found most often enlisted in vast agnatic solidarities, whose abuses find a corrective in the insecurity of established situations, imprescriptibility of rights, and criticism of origin to which this milieu untiringly delivers any possessions. Here again a sort of equilibrium at term is realized. In time it is true: and several generations sometimes pass before there is recovery. The disappearance of such-and-such individuals, of such-and-such families, by "extinction," for example, inqirâd', a theme that recurs quite often in the old acts, is not free from ending in the constitution of a certain margin of "goods without master," closely inventoried moreover in the consciousness of the group, and which, tacitly, are the appanage of the powerful of the day. Premium for individual appetites, and rudiment of a domainal one.

613 671 Thus individual depredation and communal constraint encircle the life of the ikhs. The modern law of the Seksawa has perhaps made out of the exuberance relations of action and of reaction established, on both sides of the ikhs, by these two rivals. Doubtlessly the gentilitial structure, evoked by unwritten laws of the

/352 cont./
613 agrarian order, has survived up to us. But on the juridical plane,
671 it has finally suffered, more than the group, from the invasion of
the notarial writing. And its contest with the economic chances
of the individual still endures, and becomes bitter. If it were
ever able — a stage /353/ quite hypothetical — to preside over a
form of this society where everything agreed harmoniously around
it, ritual autonomy of the patriarchal family, hagiology of ancestors, law of agnatic type, that collapsed long since. One has
[178] the impression that for four centuries at least, in the place of
what one can imagine of the ancient ikhs, the society has been
undone or, more exactly, redone (1).

(171) 1. These reactions of the group to the gens, sometimes by legislative means, are known in classical Antiquity, where they constitute in short the essential of "reforms" that intervene here and there. Durkheim has profoundly noted it, Ann. soc., t. VI, pp. 324 sq., 373 sq., apropos the Athenian genè and phylaī. We shall return to this idea in our conclusions.

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Land Law

Double Character of This Law

613
423 The maintenance of the agnatic group in its landed position
[128] will be the central motif of this chapter. But a total liberty of
landed-property operations surrounds this motif with a fringe of
lesser application or even of contradiction. In extreme cases
423 mobilization and alienation of the land intervene, and put in play
181 a passionate contractual individualism. This is an important
theme of these societies. It interferes with the one, no less important, of communitarian permanence. Both react constantly
with each other. Hence contrasts and antitheses, at which a
superficial view might stop, but we shall try to see if their

/355 cont./

175 This new element will have made the analysis progress. It
423 results from written testimony, and by no means from hypotheses
691 more or less subject to caution. It reveals, in the comings and goings of the man, due to the difficulties of the times, a constancy that attaches it to a ground, and is not without aspects of a magico-religious order. This bond can survive the most violent vicissitudes. On the condition, undoubtedly, that the name sur-
[103] vives. The primacy and the extreme conservation /356/ of
toponyms in this part of the Atlas are perhaps the reason that this persistent legitimacy can be observed here to a degree unequaled, it seems, in the rest of North Africa.

The last of these acts also supplies an important element. It is seen here that the equilibrium between the group and the ground may undergo modifications because of the intervention of the
[613] group. Consequently who knows if the patrimonial representation
of the *ikhs*-s in the quarters does not reflect deliberate initiatives and, in short, measures of application of the first law?

425 However that may be, permanence and agitations of the landed life are fashioned according to figures that it will not be from an overly systematic logic to call tied between them. Now
[436] the instrument of the exchanges here is money: that which is
amassed on the spot and that which is fetched from the outside. This is the double aspect of a monetarism that forms the unity among the so-called contradictory, and at the very least contrasting, aspects of the milieu. How these different economic or moral factors are ordered is what we are now going to try to elucidate.

428

Patrimonial Legitimacy Versus Possession

And first of all the notion of patrimony exists in this society. The law, like the mores, expressly refers to it. This is the *ddment*
[192] (1).

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1. From the Arabic *ad-dimna*, plur. *diman*, "place smoked by the proximity of the

/357 cont./
175 of it for the saints of the Seksawa, such as Lalla Aziza and the
423 H'ançaliyin, in conformity with ancestral usage. He planted it
425 with trees and sowed it with cereals, and surrounded it with an
enclosure," etc.

Much farther upstream, at Rekto Wasif, in 1011 Heg.: 1603, a cultivator required evidence that he had exercised usufruct over a piece of land "from the time of the sherif." The witness attests "to have participated in a twiza of fertilizer and other practices of tillage and harvest with the Ait Wasif."

423 But possession will never hold against the right of origin, the
671 basic legitimacy, açl. The fact is important enough to be the
171 object of deliberations and even of codifications. In effect it runs
directly counter to Mussulman law. This conflict between the master and the disciple is striking. Indeed, despite the moral exigencies that bring it closer to our canonical law in its criticism of the vices of usurpation, violence, and even of precariousness, the Mussulman law causes to intervene the notion of a duration whose prolongation entails juridically the purge of these vices and constitutes in the long run the title of ownership. Moreover, its litigious and technical nature, making it confuse the right and its proof in most of the cases, leads it to confer upon the possessor the advantageous qualification of defendant, which very often will end the proceedings in his favor with a simple swearing of an oath. Nothing more remote from the Seksawa custom, where the burden of proof devolves on the possessor, and which is ignorant of any legitimating effect of duration.

Applied to the letter, the preponderance conferred on the
423 written title, by a technique so imperfect and offering so little
671 in guarantees of authenticity, over ancient possession apparently
leads to the worst of hazards. In fact, the "legitimation" of
(613) which the documents speak is the notoriety of the group attaching
such revendication to the well-known patrimony of the ikhs. This genealogical consciousness of the group, tied to the structure of the ground, is what must be referred to in order to give an account of the customary rule of action that has become incomprehensible beneath its cloak of written law. Deliberations of this sort,

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Pecuniary Composition and Penal Law

613 Is the group resolved in the ensemble of the ikhs-s? Traits
619 of discordance in the modern evolution of these two notions lead
634 one to pose this difficult problem. And the evolution, which is
121 above all expressed in an unequal reaction to the Arabic writing,
has doubtlessly only accentuated more ancient discordances about
which one is reduced to hypotheses. Very certainly, however, the
Chleuh /Shluh/ taqbilt is adult before these influences exert themselves.
What are the relations between the group and its agnatic
681 subdivisions here? Especially in the matter of repressive law,
what is the part of the private pecuniary compensation: and of the
/370/ sanction of public order? All that we can say, if we wish
to avoid appealing to a suspect scheme of evolution: retaliation,
then compensation, then fine, -- is that at the period to which
the first written sources go back there are both decreed punishment
and tariffed composition.

613 But another verification can put us on the track. The ancient
178 state did not disclose any elements of the problem other than those
of today. The debate already dealt with the interaction of the
commune on the one hand, persons on the other. An acquisitive
individualism, the constant rupture of the "patriarchal" society into
irascible co-operators, indeed into foyers hiving off or into
economic rivals, undoubtedly tempers from this time the gentilitial
primacy. From the contentious plane they suppress it in the
penumbra of old solidarities, tenacious undoubtedly, but which no
longer crop out in disputes. Moreover, the phases of personal
power, of which the twentieth century offered a perfectly observable
cycle, certainly had to be adjusted, and not without collisions
and uneasiness, to the former structure. If it is noteworthy that
592 the distribution of the habitat by villages, lmud'â, does not correspond
[621] to anything in the communal institution, and that the unit
[634] is always the taqbilt, without prejudice to the sometimes quite
[613] mixed distribution of the ikhs-s into villages, it may be noted in
an inverse sense that no authority of ancestors comes to restrict the
citizenship of the head of foyer. It is indeed the "foyer," takat

/370 cont./

592 /conjugal family/, that constitutes the basis of the distributions as of all the tumultuary or accountable manifestations essential to this life.

613 182 The role of the ikhs stands out at the very least from its present functions: primary distributor of water and, if I may venture to say it, of baraka; member of a hierarchy of qualifications reserving for such-and-such a lineage the right to undertake important actions with common value, which involve the collectivity, its soil, its past and its future. Its function exists primarily in all that the course of the group respects in the way of necessities, more or less clearly felt, in accord with nature, in connivance with the kosmos and its unwritten laws. Therefore war, politics, the agrarian order, and in a certain measure holiness, justice, or poetry are a gentilitial affair. These attributes are well mixed. We do not know which among them go back to the past or result from restorations or adjustments. One of course would be tempted to consider the magico-religious functions as belonging to the oldest substratum (1).

613 182 114 121 695

(1). P. Huvelin, "Magie et droit individuel /Magic and individual law/," Ann. Soc., X, p. 12, shows that the repression of misdemeanors in a society dominated by familial representations /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ still remains religious in accent and commonly assumes the form of the ordeal. The mad exuberance of the sworn law in the old Maghrebi societies certainly evokes the existence of ensembles that, in this case, are agnatic ensembles. One has the explanation that, in Marcy's eyes, this aspect constituted a criterion of archaism, that is, according to him, Berbère /Berber/ authenticity. According to this view, the public law would then consist in organizing relations between

/370 cont./

613 /footnote 1 continued/ familial groups with-
182 in the political society. The fact is that the
114 oath often has this aspect. And that is so
121 true that, the group growing larger into the
695 taqbilt, for example, it would be other tariffs
that then function in the cojuratio. But one is also struck by the traits of decline or retreat of a familial law thus profiled, or, what amounts to the same thing, by its unequal resistance to the legalistic Mussulman influences, from which, in short, the public law in the strict sense of the term has much better extricated itself. Of the two, it is the latter that has had the major influence, to the point, undoubtedly, of reacting upon the other.

771 /371/ But on this same plane there are two recoils, unless
769 they are original lacunae. First of all, let us repeat, this society
with ancestors has never reflected in its hagiology what is re-
flected in other systems similarly organized. Another negative
627 remark: in this penal law, so well attested to during the four
681 centuries that one can study it, sanction is always of public order,
without the notion of private vengeance or of responsibility of the
ikhs ever cropping out in it. This is important. One of the best
[114] studies of Berbère /Berber/ law, that of Hanoteau and Letourneux,
has given much space to completely contrary aspects. A sharp
[171] difference with the western Haut Atlas stands out from what these
authors say proceeds from a law of the family as opposed to that of
the village: all these juridico-sentimental motive forces that the
reqba, the ^{c}anfya are, all this code of virile honor that occupies
such an important place among the Kabyles (1).

1. M. Daumas and M. Fabar, La grande Kabylie /Great Kabylia/, 1847, already contrast the vendetta to the dlf, as signs of two radically different systems, p. 35. These

/373 cont./

175 685 683 [634] "Note," taqyîd, of the fine imposed by the moqaddem of the Idma on an individual who stole some almonds, and whose brothers cursed the one robbed, yal^{c}anû bi-kathrat il-qabîh': 10 m. for the thief and for each insulter. Without date.

175 671 Therefore, to be content with what can be restored by the existing documentary sources, and even taking into account transpositions inherent in the writing, one is struck by the publicist and regulatory character of this penal law. To what extent this character has prevailed over familial autonomy will be shown by the following texts.

175 685 [619] [634] /374/ /The following three paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ In 1267 Heg.: 1851 the Idaw Geryun decreed that an insolvent thief must be executed by his agnates. The latter must put him to death. If they do not resolve to do this, they must release him from his fine at their own expense. The jemâa frees the agents of this execution from any payment of dîâ!

In 1276 Heg.: 1860 the a. Tasa condemned one among them to death for robbery. He was therefore executed. "But not at all by the hand of one alone, but by that of all, and without dîâ, fine or exile, being incumbent on anyone."

There still exist in Haut Seksawa old men who remember [613] [634] [619] deaths of this sort. The executioner is sometimes the agnatic group, sometimes the taqbilt, or rather a subdivision of the latter, the "third," thelth.

671 681 In these cases at hand, the primacy of the group and of the justice that it renders is curiously reconciled with an archaic concern for immunity. Penalty of public order, certainly, but one that takes precautions on the side of private vengeance and the pernicious influences of spilled blood. The ikhs, or the "close ones," here become ministers of a repression that is indeed that [613] of the state. And not only must they thus kill one of theirs, whom their "duty" would have been to protect or avenge, but it is the state that finally absolves them of the responsibility for this murder.

/375 cont./
634 Forty," and sometimes more simply that of "auxiliaries," a^{c}wân.
554 On a very old document the moqaddem bears the name, fallen
into disuse here, of anflus. There is incontestably designation by
the group. Election by all or co-optation by the ikhs chiefs? It
is probable that circumstances of fact and of persons decided between these two formulas. Certain groups practice special modalities. Thus the Idma meet each year on the expansion of
Inraren Z'dinin above Anchkrir. A rotation was observed between
(613) ikhs-s concerning the choice of the one elected. In fact, phases
of personal power seem, at least for the Idma, to have constantly
interfered with the democratic organization, to the point that it
might be asked if the latter was not an ideal rather than reality.

175 There remains, from these Idma, a very old testimony: 915
634 Heg.: 1510. This is the period of Portuguese incursions in the
554 Dir and at least once along the route from the Sous. The Idma
(648) were then reduced to three villages: Ad'erd'ur, Usikis, Anchkrir.
The occupation of the middle valley had not yet been made. The
latter was still held by the a. Gasa. The act, doubtlessly the
official report of one of these assemblies of Inraren Z'dinin, after
a solemn preamble in the Koranic form, begins according to the
ritual formula: ittafaqû jamâ^{c}a. The elected chief bears no
title, except the circumlocution that "he will speak in their
name"... "God make us conform to his wishes! May he make
peace (al-^{c}âfiya) repose in 6 delegates from each village." The
expression of a ritual role is scarcely accoutered with monotheism
here. This is the oldest document of this type that we have. It is
nearly contemporaneous with the "edicts" of Yah'yâ u Tâfuft (the
ally of the Portuguese), which are of the same genre. The area of
expansion of the formula therefore seems to have been considerable.
634 The moqaddem represents the jemâa in all of its multiple
554 interventions. It naturally mixes with this role the growing
prerogatives of the executive. On the internal plane, he is
charged with calling upon the citizens by bans for all the prestations of /376/ agrarian order that a village life both intense and
poorly treated by an unfruitful milieu involves. Corvées of mutual assistance, fiqh retribution, struggle against grasshoppers,

/379 cont./

634 451 [652] We are in Idaw Geryun around 1836. The moqaddem expresses himself as a delegated administrator. And he finishes with a negative balance: the sums advanced by himself!

Such documents reveal a singular advancement of the ad-
ministrations in certain of these mountain groups. An account-
[554] ancy implying the use of writing is demanded from the com-
munal magistrate, without the slightest abuse being allowed him.
Undoubtedly, as has been said, parallel to this vein runs another
vein: that of the pressures of personal power. The remarkable
thing is that the former was never abolished and continued to
represent, in the worst adventures, an aspiration never dis-
couraged.

634 The attributions of the city are not only internal, but also of international law. Here again the moqaddem and the ait Arbâin represent the interests of their group. Among the most frequent pacific acts in which they could take part, and which have left us written traces, let us cite:

175 619 675 634 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ In 1136 Heg.: 1724 an agreement between the Idaw Geryun and the people of Uzaga (upper ait H'adduyws) on the subject of a limit of forest use, maçâlih' al-ghâba. Guarantors are furnished respectively — old men for the /380/ most part, ifqiren — as security against trespass or robberies occurring on the confines; also as respect for the acorn grove's being put in defense. The agreement carries a penal clause, a considerable one of 1,000 onces to one who breaks it.

Agreements concerning pasturage and water rights on the
Tabgurt (acts of 1114 Heg.: 1702 and 1115 Heg.: 1703) of the
Idma and a. H'adduyws jemâas. Elsewhere I have published and
analyzed these acts. Here again we find the principle characters
• [613] noted up to here: presence of the ikhs delegates, of the moqad-
dem-s, climate of detailed discussion mixed with an archaic
communitarian ardor.

/389 cont./

695 the role of the *jusjurandum* was formerly more extensive in the
182 system before the introduction of the Arab notarial art came to disturb its economy. But one has no reason to eliminate as "recent" the character of laicity that the course presents and which is attested to for several centuries. The disconnection, in a way, of the function of the oath, which, an immediate technique of settlement, has become, in the heart of a procedure, the competitor of the writing, denotes in the present stage the trace of a profound and ancient regression of the sacred.

/390/ Divergences Between the Evolution of the Religion and That of the Law

121 But would we not observe a regression of this genre in hagiol-
[776] ogy? Between the historic heroine who rules the Seksawa and the anonymity of the local sanctuaries, no intermediary stage. To what is the fact to be attributed? To an original character or to an acquired evolution? And, in this second hypothesis, to the progress of a community in love with classifications, to the decadence of the creative faculties, or to the logical expansion of monotheism? We know nothing about it. However that may be, it indeed seems that at a certain period there took place a simplification of this society, a lopping of the autochthonous spontaneities, and that that is to be put in relation with such a trait, still to be discovered, of the reception of Islam in the Haut Atlas.

[613] It is undoubtedly the agnatic group, as ritual person as well as juridical person, that bore the cost of the transformation, or of the decadence. Whence the discordant and anomalistic character that its survivals or its reappearances assume today. But the void thus created has been diversely filled by law and religion.

776 At the base exists a swarming of observances most often ex-
795 clusive of personal support, and we have even recognized there a sacred of strictly communal foundation. The religious and social here go so far as to become identified. On a superior stage two or three figures of saints, common to all or part of the Seksawa,

/414 cont./

101 covering the whole basin of the asif el-Mâl. In the case of the
103 neighboring valley, this marking by a great medieval name is
not even possible any more. One knows no more, and for the mere convenience, it seems, than "people of the Nfis," ait n-Nffis. Unless one includes them, significantly, in the recent "Gund'afa"...

Levels of the Social Organization

619 The Chleuh /Shluh/ taqbilt is not a federation of families.
It exists in and of itself, is not in the least resolved -- as it may
634 be in other Maghrebi domains -- in a balance of gentes. The
613 study of its penal law does not leave any doubt in this regard. At
182 the same time as a striking maturity, it reveals the primacy of
the public order over the familial defense: honor, vendetta, composition or retaliation. The luxuriant genre of the codifications indicates a stage which is that of the applied penalty, of decreed indemnification. Not only does the system circumscribe and suppress the gentilitial initiative, as may be the case in Kabylia, but it substitutes itself. Similarly, although the political course of the taqbilt does not entirely suppress the role of the ikhs-s, it is that of a democracy alternating with the tyrannical phenomenon, and not that of an assembly of "Roman senators." Even though the weight of age, of wealth, of alliances, quite like that of kinship or of the prestiges of familial order, compensate for its tumultuous propensity, it is not a "senate" that deliberates here, but a crowd. All the more, the meeting place is never a building, as in Kabylia, but an esplanade. Such signs count.

Certainly, external influences and internal evolutions were able to act on the system differently, according to the matter and the case at hand. Many dissimilarities are thus explained. Today we very likely only have access to a stage of unequal wear and tear according to the parts, but further and especially of alterings. Such as it is, among the Seksawa as in the rest of the Chleuh /Shluh/ region, the taqbilt stood out all the more as the function of the ikhs was reduced to -- or re-established in -- its

/414 cont./
619 present tasks. And that seems so ancient that it is this second
634 stage that prevailed in the cult. The village mosque espoused
613 distribution of the habitat: there are no mosques of ikhs, but
182 mosques of agglomeration; moreover, vestiges of a situation
[346] where intervillage sanctuaries also existed are discerned. This
776 is the case for these /415/ edifices, isolated and most often
778 secularized, that are found in the upper valleys: undoubtedly
taqbilt mosques. On the other hand, devotion to saints, if it is
346 of contractual accent, and hence dominated by a complete and
634 individual freedom of initiative, has as cadre the canton much
619 more frequently than the family. The existence of taqbilt saints,
not to mention a national saint, finally characterizes the Seksawa. So many traits in which, certainly for the present, but also for a large slice of the past, are affirmed the conquests of the small montagnard state as political and even, in certain respects, cultural person. It has thus assumed a good part of the attributions that perhaps formerly fell to a patriarchal organization. It eliminated the others, or suppressed them in the magico-religious context of the most summary procedures. Its own evolution towards a conscious system, with transactions and demarcations, with judiciary techniques, with acknowledged profane character, reduced these procedures more and more. And if one considers that the taqbilt, adherent to a territorial entity, assumes there precise agrarian functions, one will think of its exceptional plenitude of definition.

182 Between the small montagnard state, the canton whose life is
collected in the bottom of a ravine, and the major system, which embraces all the affluents of a valley, a threshold has been crossed. Threshold of dimensions, intelligibility. Here functions a social morphology that the clear liaisons with the space explain.
613 Let us attempt to state them precisely. On the synthesis of
182 landed and technical visual reality that the quarter constitutes depends a synthesis of parental, classificatory, religious and juridical reality: the ikhs.

It seems to be the great actor of the agrarian order. On it is arranged the distribution of land and water, thus the material and

613 /415 cont./
182 moral balance in which the group finds exercise and permanence. A good part of the ethics of these populations amounts to rules and sentiments that assure the persistence of this balance against the damage of time and the hazard of individuals. In a past that
000 is not merely hypothetical -- since several modern traits postulate it -- the ikhs could have partaken of a hierarchy of qualifications that conferred upon such-and-such a lineage the charge of common actions involving the collectivity, its soil, its future (1).

> 1. For example, at the stage described by al-^{c}Abdarī, who is witness at Ans, in other words, on the South reverse of the Tizi Umachcho, veritable jousts of quarters, where it is not risky to recognize a ritual manifestation of the tension between ikhs-s. Cf. tr. of this passage in Cherbonneau, Journal asiatique, V, 1854, pp. 144 sq. Only al-^{c}Abdarī wrote in the thirteenth century. That is a terminus a quo a bit distant!

/416/ Major role! For the existence of the group must bring about connivances with nature, with the unwritten laws of the kosmos. It would follow that war, politics, agriculture, justice, beauty, and even holiness were in certain respects and to different degrees gentilitial affairs. Now there is nothing of this today (1).

> 1. Let us not forget the timezgida, whose communal role has been described above in detail. Borrowing terms from Greek Antiquity, it is in certain respects a prytaneum, it is never a lesche!

This past, if it is necessary to place it, can only be within the four centuries that our archive documentation covers. What counts today is not the function of the ikhs, but the crisis that shakes it. Neither the juridical folklore, nor especially the

/416 cont./

000 hagiology, which could have been a rich repository, nor the popular poetry reflected by any development the equilibrium of the ikhs-s, so essential to the life of the canton, and the meaning of which is so necessary to one who wishes to comprehend it. One is also struck by the relative poverty of the hagiology in personal saints and ancestors. A zone of leveling or of annulation drives back into antiquity everything that one might conjecture about the constructions of an agnatic genius. And perhaps there has never been any of these constructions. Society of gentes, one might say, but whose heroic phase is lacking (2).

> 2. We are straying here, at least for the Chleuh /Shluh/ domain, from the nevertheless very suggestive ideas of Vidal de La Blache, this masterly exegetist of the Mediterranean, for whom the Berbère /Berber/ societies represent a stage in which there is not yet synoecism, and which by that especially differ from the classical societies, Principes de géographie humaine, 1922, pp. 186 sq.

● 613
181
Either it had never been, or it ceased to live in the hearts of the descendants and no longer speaks to the imagination. Individualism reigns even in the bosom of the house. It restricts paternal authority, makes acquisitive aspects predominate in marriage, precisely delimits the feminine autonomy, resolves the union of the couple in punctilious co-operationalism. Victim of its conquests, and even more of its permanent menace, the ikhs has suffered, from the fact of the commune, even more serious defeats. If analysis discloses, confronting the familial conservatism and the symmetries of the agrarian order, an individuation of rights that finds obstacles neither in theory nor in practice, is it not that the tension between the two orders of forces serves the vitality of the group?

/421 cont./
619 634 better than the puny mountain republics, known how to make itself respected. But even in the steepest cantons in Seksawa the
system does not survive the problems of vaster bounds, of more
complex political circuits. As soon as there is passage to a new
[613] order of size, there is passage to another rhythm. The clarity of
the relations between the ikhs-s and the taqbilt is effaced. Correlatively instructive phenomena appear.

For example, here are the a. H'adduyws, a vast ensemble
composed of at least three taqbilt-s. The argument of a eponymous ancestor -- this is also the only case of this genre that we
found in Seksawa -- covers an avowed heterogeneity of origins as
well as of vocations. Here are the Mez'ud'a with their ten
"centuries," myawat, expressing a recent and deliberate division,
and their magnificent ritual and hydraulic order. They give an
idea of the /422/ maximal dimension that can affect this genre of
society without causing it to lose certain characteristics. And
613 nevertheless what changes are to be discerned there! In Mez'ud'a
619 as in a. H'adduyws the distribution of lands is no longer gentilitial
634 for the ensemble. It remains so only within the subgroups, themselves divided into ikhs-s. The connection of the ikhs-s within the
[423] subgroup, of subgroups of different stage within the tribe is obscured. The habitat has an influence on the denomination of the
inferior subdivisions. The ancient solidarities, expressed by an
agrarian order, are effaced. There is, one might say, recourse to
compensatory themes of identification or of qualification. That
stands out from the name of the groups in Mtugga. Appeal is made
simultaneously, or by turns, to the place, to the sobriquet, to
consanguinity. A veritable disarray, a disorder which is not of the
Chleuh /Shluh/ genius are distinguished, for example, in the
heteroclite denominations of the inferior units in a khoms such as
the Idaw Nifi. One in fact also sees simple numerical divisions
intervene: a H'adduyws "third," Mez'ud'a "centuries," Mtugga
"fifths." In the second of these cases, the borrowing of a
[177] makhzanian form -- flattering analogy with the guich /gish/
tribes -- is obvious. But in the others, too, any artificial character is not excluded from the division.

/422 cont./

619 The title of taqbilt is then indistinctly borne by the ensemble
634 or its fractions. This is what, in certain respects, makes our own
administrative nomenclature lean toward the term of "confedera-
tion" for the major group. At the base, same incertitude. With-
[613] in the "third" or the "fifth," a whole layering of forms is inter-
posed between the ikhs, as we have restrictively defined it, and
subgroups whose solidarity becomes more and more indiscernable,
less and less plausible, invoked less and less.

To that is added the fact that the topographical breadth thus
increased brings about, because of exigencies of social measure
that are still obscure to us, but which we see by their work, the
separate cantonment of the subgroups. New persons then appear.
A relaxation of a chief's force, of the solidarity of a jemâa, the
success of intrigue, and a "fraction" will affirm itself as inde-
[631] pendent. It was in this way that the khoms of the Idaw Merzug
was sometimes distinct from the Mtugga and had its own caids, or
that the three oriental myawat of the Mez'ud'a, the Intelzifit, for
a time constituted a "tribe" (1).

1. The enumerations of the Baydhâq, E. Lêvi-
Provençal, Documents inédits d'histoire almo-
hade /Unpublished documents of Almohade
history/, 1928, pp. 62 sq., are interesting not
only because of the /this footnote is continued
on the following page in the original source/
survivals of group names up to the present time
that they permit marking, but also, and perhaps
especially, because of the changes that have
taken place in the hierarchy and the comprehen-
sion of these names. It has justly been noted
[616] that the names of the two famous leff-s, Imsifern
and Inghertit, figure, as names of "fractions," in
the list of Gedmiwa subgroups of the Almohade
period. Let us observe also that one notes Farûga
among the present Çawda or Mez'ud'a, quite dif-
ferent from the Frûga. And, moreover, this is

/436 cont./

500 preceding notations will suffice to support a judgment, moreover above all critical. It is legitimate to conjecture a constant fluidity between denominations of groups habitually distinguished by the user as well as by the research worker. The surprising thing is not that interferences should be produced between agrarian or urban confraternities, corporations, territorial cadres and genealogical systems. It is that they should be so numerous. It is that they coexist with an evolution that belies them on many grounds. [171] Between forms such as tribe, confederation, league, çoff, leff, party, even qualifications within the hierarchies of the profane and of the sacred, the exchange has been perpetual in North Africa, and still continues.

Morphological Thresholds

616 182 [695] Let us return to the native interpretation. It brings together the fraternity of leff with that of blood or of the oath. This proximity may be attributed to the decadence of the types. But let us note that many of the traits that in our view distinguish these three notions amount to a morphological variation linked to the broadness of play. From the least broad cadre: this ground where, the patrimonies are organized, to the broadest: the whole section of the Moroccan South that covers the chessboard of the leagues, several thresholds are interposed. Each indicates a changing of social rhythm.

619 634 578 As has been seen, on this side of the first threshold, the small taqbilt of the Haut-Atlas prevails. It forms its agnatic subdivisions without anything /437/ being interposed between their strife and its order. This is not to say that this strife, in certain respects, [613] does not go beyond internal law. But the ikhs indeed has the feeling of consanguinity, and many of the conflicts that it has with the other ikhs-s are amenable to sworn law. The cadre of the taqbilt, although it carries within itself an explosive force, moreover owes to its agrarian correspondences an exemplary distinctness. (Opposite to this, the genealogical tribe never offers in North Africa, we believe, as pure an example.)

/437 cont./

000 "tribe," the ^{c}*arch*, is formed and unformed /438/ according to the political event. With stronger reason, the episodic aggregate of the tribes in *taqbilt*. Let us note this term. It is employed more exactly in Kabylia than in the Atlas, for there it keeps its philological sense of primary subdivision of the "people." This is the sense in which Ibn Khaldûn spoke of Almohade "groupings," *qabâ'il*, such as the Genfisa. However that may be, the Kabyle *taqbilt* has only circumstantial existence. The present electoral struggles see it play its role, just like the ^{c}*arch*, and pierce the centenary alluvion of a public life in the French manner, in the direction of insidious, but powerful apparitions. The *çoff*-s work more broadly than the *taqbilt*, but in more diffuse, more abstract fashion. In certain cases they are identified with a ^{c}*arch*, covering an entire section of mountain, as appears to have been the case under the Turks. But sometimes too they oppose the *thaddert*-s in reciprocal movements. The whole polarizes sometimes in two terms: the "upper" and the "lower," whose constancy up to our day is conjugated paradoxically with an availability of individual evolutions much keener than anywhere else in North Africa.

[619] [634] These Kabyle illustrations of a general phenomenon of variation carry in the case at hand some other information on the terminology of the groups. The Chleuh /Shluh/ *taqbilt*, as an aggregate of families, does not correspond to the *taqbilt* of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/, a broader, but incidental form. In the Mẓâb, yet other differences. The *qbîla* is above all onomastic. It is conceived as a unit that has had its history, before the founding of the five towns. Its concentration in the urban habitat has undoubtedly reacted on its form. But all of its own tensions has not been effaced in it. Other Saharan towns with characteristic divisions, and less refined civilization, would permit comprehending a whole gamut of relations between the vitality of these groups and that of the city.

171 613 Indeed far, therefore, from the fact that the passage from the gentilitial order to that of the state presents itself everywhere with the privileged simplicity of the Haut-Atlas, the *ikhs* itself, or

/438 cont./

171 what corresponds to it in the rest of the Maghreb, is not always a
613 clear notion. In the Sous, it is reduced by and large to consanguinity. The pacts to become united by fraternal ties that are observed in rich and varied fashion in the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas on the one hand, the influence of another system, that of uterine succession among the Touareg /Tuareg/, on the other, elsewhere introduce a great diversity. Sometimes, in the Gharb for example, or the lower Chaouia, disaggregation has acted so that the family is reduced to the conjugal couple and tends toward an extreme type: the adventurous bachelor, this ^{c}azri found in the shanty towns. But opposite them, within the Chleuh /Shluh/ ikhs
[592] itself, the relations between foyers /439/ are not governed by any patriarchal indivision. All this, in the present phase, is, from one end of North Africa to the other, stirred up by a formidable evolution.

000 Depending on the milieus, it is such-and-such an aspect, such-and-such a principle, lacking or attenuated elsewhere, that predominates. On the importance of the pacts of protection in the Moyen Atlas depends, in Mauretania or in the Ahaggar, that of the hierarchies of groups. In Kabylia the most corroded organizations coexist with a political agility of modern type. A classification of the North African populations could thus be sketched. According to the geographical area, the unequal role played by such-and-such a theme, the degree of appurtenance to such-and-such a cycle, would undoubtedly furnish the bases for a division about which one can say unhesitatingly that it is for the moment premature.

But that will be not merely regative findings. At this point in our inquiry, the morphology of the Maghrebi groups already lets some of its traits be glimpsed. To its differentiation in space, and reacting on it, is added another: the variation of the signs that, according to the place or period, any formation of a certain size borrows. As the cadre becomes larger, a variability of names revives, all the more difficult to grasp because they evoke in turn diverse conjunctions of age, of extension, or of dignity. Hence all sorts of confusions become possible. And not only for the investigator, but for the native, for they open to the latter a fine

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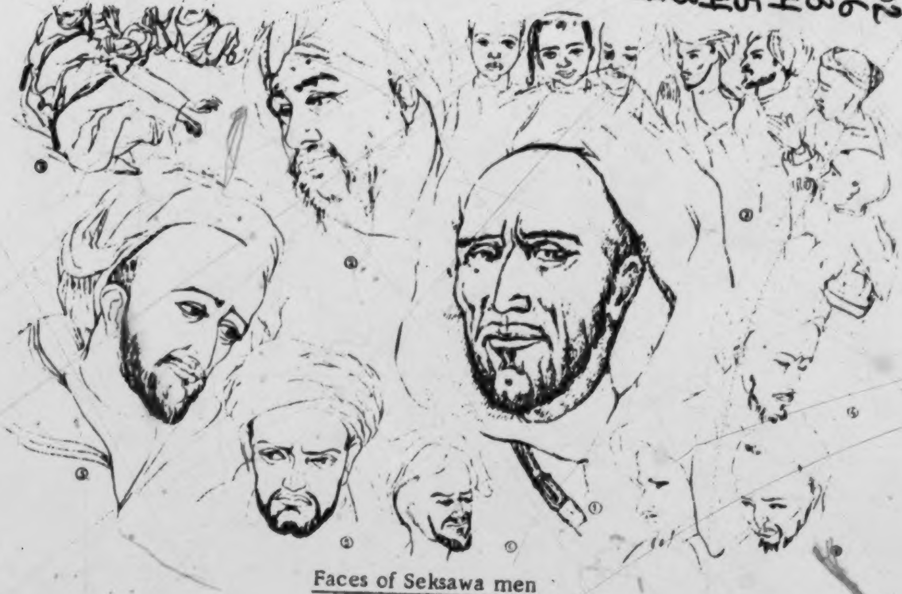
Pl. IV



Faces of Seksawa men

/The complete caption for Pl. IV is given on p. 649./

341
342 Plate III. The house.
343 (1) Group of "houses at a height" at Z'init'. They are
joined. Each independent exit represents the existence of a
353 tigemmi, residence of a "conjugal family," takat. Courtyards,
361 loggias, skillful technique of pointing stone with clay, life of
414 terraces; (2) the "loggia," asqqif, supporting columns in wood,
tannalt, with a curiously Doric capital, a talzzazt; (3) corbeils,
issknan, for keeping fruit, vegetables, or seeds; (4) a door, tiflut,
with "hole for opening inside," timit or anqfer; (5) the lock-padlock, ajakan, and its key, tasarut. The ensemble of the closing
is called lqfel; (6) interior of ground floor at Iguntar. The door
of the stable, agrur, opens at the back. By way of the interior
stairway, taskila, rather rare, one has access to the rooms of
habitation, imeçray.

142
291 Plate IV: Faces of Seksawa men.
302 (1) The amghar ^{c}Omar u Ali, of the a. Lh'sen, grandson of
516 the caid Lmokhtar; (2) the amghar Ali Chtittihi, of the a. Musa;
(3) the amghar Wakrim u Lh'ajj Hfid', of the Idma; (4) the
533 amghar Lh'sen u Abdesselam, of the a. Mh'and. These first four
554 personages are directly linked with those who occupied the front
● 613 of the stage at the time of the penetration. They are important
634 ikhs chiefs; (5) the moqaddem u Idder, chief of the foqra of Lalla
534 Aziza; (6) the moqaddem Myyah'i, chief of the igurramen of
535 Ammern, and tambourin player; (7) young men taking part in the
ah'wach chorus. Note the positions of the hands, originating
from a very complicated dance ritual; (8) the spectators.

Pl. IX

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Cl. L. Berque

Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar)

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Cl. L. Berque

Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd

/The complete caption for Pl. IX is given on p. 656./

Plate VIII:

133 /On the left/ Benches at Usikis (Idma).
361 This colossal stairway continues toward the bottom, which
the rocks in the foreground hide. The houses of the village are
[592] glued to the slope. They are agglomerated by familial ensembles.

133 /On the right/ The Uwines timezgida (a. Lh'sen).
346 This "mosque" is a particularly redoubtable place of oaths.
695

241 Plate IX:
291 /At the top/ Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar).
516 This "ritual place," consisting of a simple cylinder of stones
778 and branches, plays an important role in the agrarian life.

/At the bottom/ Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd.
133 This is the largest agglomeration of the Seksawa: at the
162 same time, this little taqbilt concentrates to a remarkable degree
361 of synthesis, the density of habitat (600 grouped inhabitants)
619 and the social organization. One distinguishes in the village
634 some quarters corresponding to the grouped residences of each
613 ikhs, which is an almost unique case. The peak that dominates,
778 the "White Rocks," imellulen, is the site of an annual feast, with
anonymous sacred part. Perfection of tiers and horticulture.
796

/43 cont./

621 VIII. The family. -- Each separate hamlet, or each part of
613 a village, is inhabited, as we have seen, by a patriarchal and
agnatic familial group to which in the Sous is given the name of
"ikhs." This is the smallest unit, but also the most lively,
which contributes toward forming the larger social groups in Ber-
bère /Berber/ country.

621 The "ikhs" is constituted spontaneously by the natural devel-
592 opment of the family that lives in a detached house. Actually
the Chleuh /Shluh/, almost always monogamous, especially if he
613 is poor, lives with his sons in joint possession; his cousins are es-
[595] tablished near him. Foreigners who have come into the country
as wage earners or tribal brothers marry the daughters. In three
[622] or four generations /44/ a numerous and powerful group is
formed, often led by an old man who is the natural leader of
this new hamlet.

613 The various members of the "ikhs" are not gathered together
561 in the course of daily existence. Each generation actually lives
apart from the one that precedes it or that follows it; father and
562 son do not take their meals together, at least in public. The men
and the women, moreover, form two distinct societies, which
have traditions, beliefs, a different vocabulary. The men try to
[771] observe the laws of Islam; the women, on the contrary, remain
attached to magical practices that are a survival of the most an-
562 cient beliefs. Even the markets are sometimes separate (1).
443

1. Special markets for women exist in the region of the Haha and the plain of the Chtouka.

562 Finally, during pilgrimages and annual fairs the two sexes often
[788] assemble separately. The women's festivals, on the occasion of
[543] which are found preserved licentious traditions antecedent to
[527] Islam, accentuate even more the separate organization of the two
[831] groups.

/149 cont./
621 subdivisions within large ethnic groups; so it suffices for them to
*634 define them by saying the name borne by the men who form
632 them: the "Ihahan" thus designate what we call the confedera-
*631 tion of the Haha; "Igedmiwon," the confederation of the Ged-
619 miwa, "Isouktan," the tribe of the Souktana, "Aflfen," that of
128 the Nfifa, without ever using any name designating the social
organism that is a confederation or a tribe.

829 Very often the people who make up the States are regarded
as the descendants of an eponymous ancestor, Aït Ou ᶜAzzoun,
*634 Aït Zekri, Aït ᶜAtta (2),
•613
whose tomb is sometimes in a known place. The terms Id, Ida,
[829] Inda, Ind, with which many units of varying importance are des-
ignated -- Id Brahim -- Ida ou Kazzo, Inda Ouzal, Ind Ou Nadif,
[101] seem to imply at the same time the idea of common descent and
[114] of grouping. This genealogical conception of Berbère /Berber/
society, whose value we have already questioned and which we
shall again have occasion to examine, /150/ can moreover ap-
pear to us only as a "prenotion."

2. Among the Ida Ou Tanan people show the tomb of Sidi Mehend Gouᶜazzoun, alleged ancestor of the 15 fractions of the Aït OuᶜAzzoun; among the Aït ᶜAtta, the tomb of Dadda ᶜAtta on the banks of the middle Dra.

121 For the moment we shall interest ourselves, in the region of
the high valleys of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, near the
128 summits of the Tichka, or on the plateaus of the Ida Ou Tanan
near the Atlantic, in studying in themselves the best preserved
and most lively social and political units. Resolutely setting
aside all explanations borrowed from popular tradition, we shall
strive to state precisely the nature of the various categories of
Berbère /Berber/ states by comparing their life and structure.
Then we shall establish in their hierarchy the order and precision
indispensable for permitting us to understand the nature of the

/151 cont./

621 613 rock, in a spot propitious for defense. Each hamlet, "tadchert" (1),

> 1. "Tadchert," Berbère /Berber/ form of the Arabic "dechra," village.

is customarily peopled by two or three family groups, to which one gives the name of "Ikhs" (2).

> 2. "Ikhs," Berb., which has the etymological sense of bone. In Arabized country the family group is also designated by "ᶜadam" (same original meaning) or by "fekhda."

As we have seen, these are little patriarchal and agnatic units formed by the sons and grandsons of the same father, living more or less in joint possession, augmented often by contributions from outside.

It often happens, moreover, that each "ikhs" occupies a [103] separate group of houses. The hamlet sometimes takes the name of a locality or topographic accident: Assaka, the ford; Taourirt, the hill; Agerd, the brow of a hill; Achbarro, the sentinel post; Anammer, the sunlit slope. Often, too, the name of the family prevails over that of the place inhabited: Iᶜaisaten, the sons of ᶜAisa; Taourirt n Aït lHachmi, the hill of the sons of l'Hachmi; usually both names, that of the locality and that of the ethnic group, exist at the same time.

621 632 Three or four hamlets close together, or a big village, like the ones that sometimes exist at the upper part of the wadis, near the rich pastures of the summits, generally form a unit to which in this region one often gives the name of "moudaᶜ" (3)

114 613 621 632 113

> 3. From the Arabic "moudaᶜ," place. Doutté gives the name of "clan" to this group ("Organisation sociale et domestique

/151 cont./

114 /footnote 3 continued/ des Haha /Social
•613 and domestic organization of the Haha/,"
621 Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905,
632 Rens. coloniaux /Colonial information/,
[113] p. 9. Actually made up of several family
groups ("ikhs") of diverse origins, the
"mouda^{c}" has less importance and cohesion
in the independent regions than the fraction.

One must bear in mind, in order to evaluate the observations made by Doutté in the north of the Haha, that the country described by him had long ago been transformed by the Makhzen /makhzan/.

621 and which in our administrative terminology we call the subfraction.
632 A "Friday mosque" in which passing strangers come to ask
[346] for hospitality, an "agadir" or collective storehouse, in the
regions where this /152/ institution has been preserved, and especially
[343] the existence of a "jema^{c}a," assembly of all the men
[623] able to bear arms, such are the institutions of the "mouda^{c}."

The political activity of this little group is almost nil. In the
independent tribes, the "mouda^{c}" most often is only an administrative
division that permits dividing up local duties: turn at
hospitality in order to feed strangers, turn at feeding the taleb,
621 manure or tillage corvée, repair of séguias. Each "mouda^{c}" possesses,
finally, in the vicinity of the hamlets, its grazing lands,
632 its forest of brushwood, where people lay in supplies of wood for
423 heating and which is cleared by fire when one wishes to take a
chance on a harvest of barley on unirrigated lands. This is not a
question of collective lands of the tribe, but rather of joint family-goods.
[609] A stranger to the "mouda^{c}" would not be able to settle
there without permission, and when, in rainy years, these uncultivated
lands are worth the trouble of being cleared and sown, one
sees each family hurry to claim its part of them.

*634 /157 cont./
184 square kilometers, and whatever the numerical strength of the
population may be, it does not exceed these dimensions.
131 It cannot suffice, in order to explain this fractioning into
visibly equal units, to invoke the geographic arrangement of the
places; as a matter of fact, it is observed in a land divided into
regular compartments, as in the high valleys of the Tichka and
of the Igdad, as well as in a region of plateaus, for example, to
the west of the Sirwa, in the Azilal, or the south of the Haha, or
the land of the Ilalen; likewise it exists in the big valleys, such
as those of the Nefis or of the Tifnout. The precise reason for
this surprising constancy of the dimensions of the "taqbilt" seems
to us to have to be sought in the no less invariable nature of its
institutions.

*634 In most of the republics whose territory has remained inde-
[174] pendent of the Makhzen /makhzan/ there exist, or there were not
long ago, little senates charged with administering the country;
numerous indications show us that it was formerly the same in the
Berbère /Berber/ regions now submissive. Now, the assembly of
•[613] notables, heads of the "ikhs" who people each of the hamlets and
who meet whenever the interests of the group are at stake, must
be able at any instant to answer the call of its president. Whether
*634 a disturbance breaks out on the border of the territory with a little
721 nearby state over a violation of the pasturage, or a private war is
suddenly ignited in the villages, which threatens the harmony
among the brothers of the "taqbilt," so that one might fear an
attack on the country by outside enemies by means of this disorder,
it is immediately necessary to make all the decisions required in
view of the combat or of the pacification. The dimensions of the
[131] canton that administers itself are then doubtless determined solely
by the maximum distance that allows the notables to meet easily
in one day in order to deliberate together.

*634 If this is the case, so that a functional law determines /158/
131 the maximum dimensions of the elementary Berbère state that the
728 canton is, one easily understands that too numerous a "taqbilt,"
led little by little to go beyond its primitive limits in order to
ensure the subsistence of its families, might be constrained to cut

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/196/ VIII. The soff, alliance of families. -- The little states of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, like all the Berbère /Berber/ communities, know a form of division other than that of the leffs: the one that results from the rivalry, warlike or pacific, of the "ikhs" or family groups within a canton (1).

[616]
1. Sometimes, in the regions subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, the name of "soff" is given to the institution that we have described here under the name of "leff" or "amqon." We shall distinguish the two terms here and shall reserve the word "soff" to designate exclusively the alliance of families.

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While in most cases the "taqbilt" or cantons enter by whole units into the alliance of the leffs, there almost always exists in each of them two or several parties, often supported by foreigners, and whose discords disturb a whole part of the mountain on the slightest pretext. But these associations, which do not have, like the leffs, any territorial base, are much less stable. They unite only for a few years families interested in the defense or conquest of power or those who are constrained to form a party hastily in order to avenge the dead or to assassinate an overly powerful enemy. The Berbères /Berbers/, with the usual imprecision of their language, also give these private alliances the name of [171] "amqon." In order to distinguish them from the leffs, we shall give them the name of "soff," utilizing the word that designates similar associations of families in Kabylie /Kabylia/; besides, their importance is such in the Djurjura that they seem to have made the leffs of former times disappear (2).

2. See farther on, p. 289.

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Among the Masmouda the "soff" never extends beyond the territory of a few cantons. It remains a private institution, whose nature opposes to a certain degree the institutions of the "taqbilt," whose unity it threatens; there is not recognized for it, as in

/217 cont./

*634 121 First we shall try to describe the organization of these small states in the region of the western Atlas. This organization has doubtless been partially transformed for two generations by the development of personal power. But one can still, by studying the life of the fractions remaining free up to the present in the most remote valleys, find what was formerly the political life of a large part of the mountains of the Masmouda, to which it would not have been exaggerated to give, half a century ago, the name of Kabylie du Haut-Atlas /Kabylia of the High Atlas/. Next, by comparing this region with the best known parts of the Anti-Atlas and of the Rif, it will be easy to see once again the similarity that exists between the political traditions of the sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ of Morocco and those of their Kabyle brothers of Algeria.

*634 621 632 /218/ I. The institutions of the "Mouda^{c}." -- The "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ of the Masmouda is most often formed by a group of "mouda^{c}." The "mouda^{c}" joins together several hamlets; the hamlet, several families. Each of these small units has its traditions, its customs of life in common, and, one might say, its "political constitution."

•613 The family, "Ikhs" (pl. ikhsan), as we have said, is a patriarchal and agnatic group, more or less undivided, which most often includes ten or fifteen hearths. It usually suffices, in order to find again the eponymous ancestor of the Ikhs, to go back three or four generations, for, as we have seen, the renewing of the population is rapid, even in the high valleys; very frequent epidemics, exile, the struggle of soffs suffice to disperse the most vigorous groups or limit their growth.

595 In each household a rigorous monogamy is observed; in the regions at present won over by the political transformation, one hardly sees even the sheiks who have become rich marry a second wife late in life. [539] A saying of the Gedmiwa promises the greatest misfortunes to those who bring a second wife into the household: "O you who have two wives, may the grasshoppers

/218 cont./
595 eat your harvests (1)!"
[539]

1. Compare *Sitte und Recht* /Custom and Law/. Ida ou Zai, p. 18.

592 In each family -- *stricto sensu* -- the sons rarely leave their
father, even after their marriage. Each house most often shel-
[768] ters three or four households. After their father's death, custom
decrees that the brothers continue to live in joint possession as
long as possible. By new alliances within this primitive group,
613 the descendants of the same ancestor come to form a small
social unit, into which the outsider is admitted only after a long
stay (2).

[113] 2. Compare Laoust, "Le Mariage chez les Berbères du Maroc /Marriage among the Berbers of Morocco/," *Arch. berbères*, Vol. I, p. 76.

[554] This group does not always have the oldest one as head; often it is the richest and most influential one who speaks in the name of his "brothers" in the assemblies whenever the honor or interests of the "Ikhs" are involved.

621 Two or three "ikhs" customarily people a hamlet, "tad-
[613] chert," but it is not rare for one of them to be preponderant and
alone have the right to represent the common interests at the
assembly of the "taqbilt." Often in the regions neighboring the
[423] plains and above all in the Anti-Atlas the hamlet appears to us
/219/ as a small autonomous group smaller than the "mouda^{c}"
but which already possesses common property: manure, pasture
[351] lands, forest. A thick hedge of jujube trees dominated by a
watchtower protects against thieves. To ensure the safety of the
[625] inhabitants turns at guarding the gate are established, and there
is a night watch in the "borj" /watchtower/. The hamlet then
tends to organize its own life with respect to police, execution
of the corvées, repression of minor offenses, and thus it absorbs
part of the attributions of the "mouda^{c}."

/219 cont./

632 When the "mouda^{c}" made up of several hamlets is an active
621 social unit, as happens in most of the valleys of the Haut-Atlas
[592] /High Atlas/, the heads of all the households in the hamlets
that constitute it deliberate jointly in order to regulate the details of life. But if, according to common practice, the assem-
[554] bly is open to all the men married for a year, only the respected
[613] representatives of families, the heads of the "ikhs," make decisions in the name of all.

623 The meetings of the council of the "mouda^{c}," to which the
[346] name "jema^{c}t" is often given, are customarily held in the Friday
mosque, which is the central institution, and perhaps this social
[212] group's reason for being. The turn for feeding the taleb -- a
hired outsider who instructs the children in the reading of the
[755] Koran, drafts letters or legal documents, and furnishes amulets
[358] to cure illnesses -- maintenance of the house of prayer, system-
[574] atic regulation of the hospitality owed to strangers who come to
spend the night in the mosque usually built apart from the village,
such are the little practical problems that the assembly must
solve in the best interests of all. The "jema^{c}t" augments its ac-
[185] tivity by watching over the protection of the crops, fixing the
[241] successive periods of utilization of the forest of argan trees for
[245] pasture or the harvest of the berries; it also sets the time when
[624] one can begin the plowing or the harvesting of walnuts (1).

[778] 1. For magical reasons, it is often prohibited
[787] by the jema^{c}t to plow before a family that possesses "baraka" has found that circumstances are favorable for beginning the work. Cf. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words
[423] and Things/, pp. 313-315. For other reasons, the harvest of walnuts or olives, which is done on trees belonging in common to a large number of owners, could be done only in the presence of the entire group, and it, too, is regulated by the council.

/220 cont./

632 *634 /footnote 1 continued/ this how difficult it can be at certain stages of the constitution of small Berbère /Berber/ societies to distinguish the subfraction from the fraction, or the fraction from the tribe.

*634 II. The council of the canton. -- The "taqbilt" council forms the essential institution of the little autonomous republic of a Berbère /Berber/ canton. While the "jemaᶜt" of the [632] [623] "moudaᶜ" is, in appearance at least, democratic, since it brings together all the household heads, the representation of the families in the bosom of the council of the "taqbilt" preserves a • [613] [621] more marked oligarchic character. Each "ikhs" is in fact represented by a single one of its members. Often, even, each hamlet may delegate only a single person designated by a turn, which changes every year, /221/ among the heads of the various [556] families of the place. Usually it is considered that in order to become a member of the council of the canton, which is also sometimes called the "diwan," it is advisable to be rich in order to be able, in turn, to receive the tribal council fittingly in one's house; it is good, moreover, to be clever at government and "to know how to speak in the assemblies" (1).

1. Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/ p. 6.

Sometimes tradition requires the representative of a family to speak in the name of a certain number of households -- ten in the south of the Haha, twenty among the Ida Ou Tanan (Aït Ouᶜ Azzoun).

The members of the "diwan" or canton council are most often called, in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, "the Aït Arbaᶜin" -- the forty. It is not without interest to note that this term "Aït Arbaᶜin" designates in almost all Berbère /Berber/ Morocco,

/223 cont./
*634 the Gedmiwa, these privileged inflas do not have /224/ magical
789 powers; they appear to us to be no more than the aides of the
184 moqaddem, "ʿawan," transmit his orders, give him advice, and
assist him in all circumstances. As proof of their devotion, they
deposit guns or daggers in the leader's house as a pledge.

*634 IV. The moqaddem. -- Each year the council of the canton
554 meets in order to receive the administration accounts of its president, the "moqaddem" (1),

1. From the Arabic "qeddama," *to place in front of oneself*; literally, the one who is put at the head.

and to proceed to the nomination of his successor. According to ancient tradition in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the moqaddem must be an effaced man who at every moment considers himself the spokesman of the council. At his name indicates, he is only the first of the "inflas," the one who precedes, who is placed in front. For all important affairs he consults the heads of the "ikhs" and the men of good counsel, and when he has to act unexpectedly, he hastens to have his decision approved. Most often, he is
[666] chosen by turn in each village, sometimes his name is drawn by
● [613] lot from among the heads of the "ikhs." In practice, however,
*634 the role of the moqaddem has been greatly expanded; it is he who
692 is most often chosen as arbitrator in disputes. If the affairs pre-
554 sented to him are too complex, he names another arbitrator, a
stranger to the canton, or a cadi of the vicinity (2).

2. The cadi's decisions are often solicited by notables who are afraid of getting an unfavorable sentence in their cantons, but who are, on the other hand, strong enough to have the decision of an outside personage respected or executed in their village. Sometimes, too, the judgment of the cadi is considered to be less

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*634 /224 cont./
[692]

/footnote 2 continued/ sullied by partiality than that of the inflas, whose rapacity is feared.

[585]
[586] Marriages and divorces are concluded in his presence. He con-
[428] ducts the proceedings for the apportionment of inheritances and
then appropriates a small part of the estates. He punishes ac-
[681] cording to the ʿorf -- the custom -- crimes and offenses, and
imposes the fines that are proper for each mistake. The money
thus collected is divided into three parts: the first goes to the
moqaddem; the second is for the taqbilt, which the inflas con-
sider that they represent completely in this circumstance; the
last part constitutes a small reserve fund for the expenses of
hospitality.

The moqaddem's authority varies according to his wealth
[292] and personal situation. If he is already, because of the power
•[613.] of his "ikhs," an important notable, he is seen, clothed in garb
/225/ of white wool, which manifests his high rank, to delib-
[571] erate, to fix the round of hospitality, to accept the "ʿar"
[754] /protector relationship based on a conditional curse/ of foreigners
[574] who ask for protection, and to have given to one who offers him
[431] a sacrifice some grain and walnuts by contribution of the whole
[628] canton. He concludes alliances with neighboring cantons and
presides at the "tinoubga," festivals given on the occasion of
[574] visits by foreign warriors. If the moqaddem, on the contrary, is
a man without influence, he effaces himself before the "inflas"
or the "ᶜawan," who compete to have all the disputes settled to
the advantage of their family. When the year has passed, the
[666] moqaddem brings the inflas together and calls for his replace-
ment. As an exception his post is renewed for a year, "if his
magistrature has been happy," but never longer.

As a result of the general tendency toward the development
[178] of personal power, people in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in our
day somewhat scorn the effaced moqaddems who abide by the
ancient tradition, according to which they would be only the
agents of their brothers. One who does not know how to speak

*634 /225 cont./
554 firmly and "does not shut the door" weakens the tribe; he is not capable, it is said, of making the necessary decisions in order to ensure for the canton, amidst the perils that threaten it, a free and independent life.

*634 When the moqaddem assumes his duties, he often decrees a
673 list of infractions that will be repressed through his attentions,
[681] according to a scale that he has established in agreement with his advisers. An act is drawn up, the authenticity of which is certified by the notables. An examination of these acts sometimes allows us to divine the struggles that break out within these small
•[613] states. In the Haut-Atlas, one often sees appear, in place of the names of the 12 or 15 heads of the "ikhs" who represent the canton, on the sheet written by the taleb, that of three or four powerful personages, friends of the moqaddem, who take it upon themselves to accept in the name of the whole group the regulations decreed by the new leader. There is thus formed a kind of little senate that diminishes the political importance of the canton council.

*634 Among the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa, the internal govern-
184 ment of the "taqbilt" takes a form through which the influence of the richest notables is indicated even better. There, the members of the council -- the "Aït ed diwan," are only four in number. The assembly of the "Aït Arbaᶜin" nevertheless exists; it is made up of young men designated for a year at the rate of one per family, who come in /226/ turn to make sure of the watch in the collective fortress, receive their part of the fines collected, eat the meals offered by the guilty ones to the tribe. When they have nothing better to do, they go to look for wood for the mosque and heat the water for ablutions. And so, in derision, they are given the surname of "bou khorbich" (1).

1. Khorbich, room adjoining the mosque, where the water for ablutions is heated.

To this effacement of the council thus corresponds an increase of the power of the "senate." At the same time the attributions of

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/footnote 2 continued/ that the moqaddem is the base on which all the affairs of the tribe rest."

•[613]

/229/ Concord is difficult to establish in the bosom of the councils of inflas not provided with a moqaddem, where the only rule appears to be to maintain complete equality among all the representatives of the "ikhs." In order to prevent discords and to come to impose on the strongest groups the decisions made by the other families in conformity with custom, it often happens that the small elementary states of the mountains come out of their isolation and join their neighbors: thus true tribal councils are constituted, in which each "khoms" delegates its inflas. In the Anti-Atlas such are the assemblies of the Aït Mzal, of the Ida Ou Gnidif, of the Aït Wadrim of the mountains; they each bring together 24 representatives who judge crimes in conformity with the ᶜorf (1).

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1. In these tribal councils the conditions under which the customary law is applied in case of murder let the laxity of the social institutions be perceived. Among the Ida Ou Gnidif, for example, the inflas friends of the murderer give back to his family the part of the fine that comes to them out of the sum imposed by the tribe. Each one supports his brothers; the "ikhs" are stronger than the tribe. Often, it is true, the customary law foresees this situation, and the ᶜorf intervenes to condemn to increased fines the inflas who try to vouch for their brothers or appeal for them to outside authorities.

Thus each of the council members is ceaselessly impelled in two opposite directions: the duty to protect his brothers or the brothers of his friends, and the desire to take part in the distribution of the goods of the guilty. His conduct is inspired by the circumstances.

/269 cont./

642 appearance of personal power; a family in a high valley succeeds
*634 in consolidating the /270/ precarious organization that has
178 created, to its advantage, a successful leader; one then sees for
two or three generations the activity of the councils of "inflas"
weaken or disappear and the struggle of the rival "ikhs" stop;
the social life itself changes, and the distance between the rich
and the poor, the strong and the humble, increases rapidly. A
little apart from this village, where all lived in apparent equality
not long ago, the fortified house of the amghar and his brothers
soon rises. Finally the external policy of the little state is also
transformed and becomes more bellicose. The combative ardor
[578] of the opposed "ikhs," without employment within, finds in the
•[613] leff quarrels the means of spending the surplus forces of the
[616] "taqbilt."

If general causes exert themselves at a distance to facilitate
[669] the development of despotic power, rising spontaneously in a
canton, several small revolutions break out at the same time in
various parts of the mountains. One soon sees a new regime of
government established, which by degrees prevails. Such is the
[175] spectacle that was presented by the western Haut-Atlas /High
Atlas/ twice in the last 50 years: first of all, in the middle of
the nineteenth century, in the regions now subject to the great
kaids, during the period that preceded and facilitated their
domination; then, at the beginning of the twentieth century, in
the parts of the mountains remaining free, when the political
pressure of the masters of the casbahs of Bouaboud, Tagontaft,
and Telwet on the republics of the high valleys was accentuated.

121 Having reached this point in our investigation, we must try
*634 to see clearly the conditions under which the authority of the
178 amghars rises and develops, and what institutions -- precarious,
without doubt, and imperfect like their power itself -- they
substitute for the ones of the small republics that they have
destroyed.

121 This research does not proceed without presenting numerous
*634 difficulties. In order to carry it out, at the risk of losing the way
669 in the thousand details of Berbère /Berber/ life, and without fear

/270 cont./

121 of tiring the reader's patience, it is necessary to draw his attention
*634 often to the little revolutions taking place in obscure cantons,
[669] to observe their local consequences, and to compare them
with one another. Indeed, without taking hold of precise examples, one cannot come to understand the essential aspects of this eminently unstable and ephemeral form of transition between the government of the assemblies and /271/ the one of the kaids. On the other hand, the history of the last three generations is rich enough in the Atlas of the Masmouda to offer us a choice among a large number of amghars -- about 40 -- whose similar origins and the identical mode of growth indicate rather well that they appear and develop while obeying the same rules. It will suffice for us, in order to show what these conditions for the rise of personal power are, to choose and study here the clearest and simplest examples.

*634 II. The struggle of the soffs and the appearance of the
578 amghar. -- The private wars, which so often trouble the life of
613 the independent republics, above all have as their cause, as we
have seen, the existence of several rival "ikhs" always ready to appeal to force as soon as their interests appear to them to be threatened. Each "taqbilt" always possesses, in fact, among the ten or fifteen families that form it, two or three stronger, richer, and more warlike groups, to whom the others come to seek support.
[571] These are soffs naturally constituted and which exist at least potentially.

The heads of these most important families of the canton conduct as they like the deliberations of the council, in the bosom of which the equality of the "Aït Arbaᶜin" is purely specious. The temptation is great for the influential members of the little senate to entrust the office of moqaddem to a candidate who defends their interests exclusively; a struggle frequently breaks out in the course of this nomination, and in the melee an ambitious man triumphs with the support of the strongest "ikhs." He often gets to exercise the magistrature for several years and

/271 cont./

*634 578 •613 soon abandons the title of moqaddem in order to take the one of amghar (1).

1. "Amghar," pl. "imgharen." Verbal noun originating from the root Mghr, to be great by stature, age, social position (de Foucauld, Dictionnaire touareg-fr. /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, II, p. 164).

The Arab word "chikh" /sheik/ translates very precisely the Berbère /Berber/ word "amghar." In certain regions of the western Atlas (Mzouda, for example) the notables are designated by the name of "Inmoghorn," derived from the same root.

*634 671 681 We have mentioned the existence of the acts drawn up at the time of the nomination of the moqaddem, which for one year fix the scale for the settlement of some offenses whose repression is left to the free disposition of the president of the assembly. Written in very bad Arabic, these documents are nevertheless interesting to examine, because /272/ they clearly indicate to us the respective position of the president of the council of notables, of the inflas, and of the tribe, at the moment when the amghar makes his appearance.

[592] When tradition is respected and a moqaddem chosen according to the customary rules, we see figuring in the act, which is like the "lender's decree" of the minor Berbère /Berber/ magistrate, the names of all the family heads in the "taqbilt." To the number of 12 or 15, they were witnessing by their presence the general consent given by the canton to the new scale of fines. [652] The customary rule is to divide the sums paid by the guilty ones into three equal parts by application of this convention: one third goes to the moqaddem, one third to the "taqbilt" in the person of its inflas, one third to the common treasury, which provides for the expenses of hospitality and for collective expenditures.

/272 cont./

*634 Now it sometimes happens that on the scales of settlement
681 thus established there are substituted for the names of all the
178 notables of the fraction those of three or four important person-
ages, who give their approbation in the name of all. At the same time, the primitive rule of distribution of the fines is perverted. One third is apportioned to the moqaddem, one third to these influential men, who give themselves the title of "ᶜayan" (1).

[1] Arabic "ᶜayān," notables.

[652] one third to the "taqbilt," represented by effaced and starving
inflas. With the same stroke the common treasury disappears.

*634 A decisive step is taken when we see the traditional name
671 of "moqaddem" disappear in the acts to make way for that of a
178 personage henceforth called "the respected amghar So-and-So."
Near the name of the amghar are found only those of the notables,
the "ᶜayan." An additional clause stipulates that the new master
[681] of the canton will collect, in addition to a third of the fines, a
[651] third of the ᶜachour, the Koranic tax that the Berbère /Berber/
[794] republics paid up to then wholly to religious personages or to the
[735] poor. Often, even, a measure of barley per household was
[465] granted for the benefit of the amghar. Personal power is henceforth established.

*634 These beginnings did not exist without requiring long and
661 patient efforts of the new chief. Before taking authority, the
578 amghar has arranged for himself the support of the heads of the
most important "ikhs," and by /273/ clever intrigues he has
•613 succeeded in setting aside those who were hostile to him or
726 making them disappear. But almost always this internal revolution does not take place without combat. Another notable, equally rich and courageous, opposes the ambitious amghar with all his forces, with his "ikhs"; war breaks out and is waged furiously until the defeated one is killed or banished with all his people; his village falls into ruins and the victorious chief retains power as long as he has the strength to do it and escapes the

726 /273 cont./
*634 vengeance of the exiles. Sometimes in the course of these combats
661 the "taqbilt" is seen to split into two groups, each having
578 its chief, who, with arms in hand, dispute the possession of the
•613 limitrophe households. The marabouts and the moqaddems of
[616] the friendly leff usually intervene in these circumstances, in
[792] order to re-establish unity somehow or other.

Woe to the amghar who establishes his power without first of
*634 all having had his authority recognized by everyone, if need be
661 by traitorously assassinating his rivals! His career is indeed
[682] quickly stopped by the return to fortune of an enemy from the
175 first hours. This is what happened to a minor amghar of the Seksawa
*634 in the middle of the last century, Hammo Ou Bella of the
canton of the Aït Lahsen /sic/, father of Si Mokhtar Seksawi, the
578 very one who was later to subjugate part of the mountains, fight
661 victoriously against the Mtouggi, and become the greatest chief
726 of his tribe. Hammo Ou Bella, moqaddem of Awines, had succeeded
in imposing himself upon the notables of his "taqbilt."
In order to consolidate his power and have unity around him, he
[616] threw himself, with the leff of the "Imsifern," into the conquest
of two fractions of the adverse leff, the Aït Mousa and the Sekrat,
these two little groups that his son, after meticulous preparation,
was to annex long years later without striking a blow. But in the
course of these enterprises his own "taqbilt" abandoned him,
following the intrigues of a rival "ikhs" head, El Hajj ᶜAli
Hammo, whom he had neglected to get rid of; Hammo Ou Bella
perished, abandoned by his brothers, under the blows of the warriors
of the defeated fractions.

175 Si Mokhtar, son of the Moqaddem Hammo Ou Bella, retained
the lesson; when he in his turn had taken power and experienced
*634 all the difficulties that the presence of hostile "ikhs" can cause a
613 new amghar, he took advantage of a happy return to fortune to
682 invite all his enemies to a magnificent festival to celebrate the
578 /274/ reconciliation of the parties; then at night, while the
noise of the songs and dances was filling the valley, he discreetly
175 had all his enemies assassinated. The continuation of his policy
*634 was thus simplified, and this fortunate beginning opened up to

616
*634 /282 cont./
642 institution of councils of inflas and of moqaddems has already
178 disappeared, the policy of the amghar is obviously simplified; it
[177] suffices for him to protect the minor sheiks who belong to his leff, without intervening within the cantons already used to despotic power. The amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft did this among the Aït Iraten, at the time when he had undertaken to drive the "Aït Atman" from the valley of the Nefis. The amghars of Talemt, chiefs of the leff of the "Aït Zolit," whose role on the south versant of the Atlas we have seen, /283/ also dominated, without doing away with them, the minor sheiks of Taberbourt, of the Aït Oumzal, and of the Onein, who were both their allies and their subjects. The feeling of leff solidarity here outweighed the personal ambition of the amghar, whose first desire is usually to increase his direct command in order to augment his resources. But all moderation disappears when the chief succeeds in conquering a canton of the adverse leff. He then puts at its head an amghar without local authority, to whom he entrusts a single mission: to watch over the collection of ceaselessly heavier taxes and to make the defeated enemies rapidly disappear.

*634 One would look in vain at this first stage of the amghar's
178 power for an original feature in the organization of his command that could be regarded as the rough outline of a new political organization. This is because the authority of the new chief, which is still exercised in a very reduced domain, does not need intermediaries; in order to become strong, it borrows traditional forms all prepared and adapts with flexibility, as we have seen, to existing traditions.

*634 We scarcely see sometimes appearing near the amghar some
625 war comrades, who have come from the outside and who form a kind of personal guard. Most often, however, his "ikhs" suffices
● [613] for him to constitute this force; outsiders are often accepted with difficulty, their presence gives the amghar who surrounds himself with them too much the air of a gang leader, and the tribe would badly suffer their excesses.

*634 We are not acquainted with any amghar who has a prison.
697 This is because in all circumstances the chief is still inspired,
671

/288 cont./
*634 from any disturbing influence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or of
the great kaids (1).

*634 /289/ Although they preserved their liberty with regard to
619 the Sultan and kept the laws of their confederation, which tradi-
[648] tion attributes to Sidi Brahim ou ᶜAli, the three tribes of the Ida
ou Tanan nevertheless lived, as we have said, under different
*634 political regimes. The Aït Ou ᶜAzzoun, directed in our day by
619 their notables of cantons or their council of family heads, in the
178 middle of the nineteenth century obeyed the amghar Akherraz,
who dominated the northern part of the country; the Ifesfasen still
have an amghar at Tassedremt, who shares the authority with the
Aït arbaᶜin; finally, the Aït Tinkert fell little by little under the
domination of the minor amghars allied with one another, and
in our time they have submitted to a single chief, Si Lhasen, son
of the amghar Mohammed Bou Naga. The appearance or the
effacement of these minor chiefs did not result from an external
influence; so the study of their power is particularly instructive.

*634 We first of all see develop by the natural working of the
619 institutions, when the tribe lives under the republican regime,
a whole hierarchy of minor notables: the heads of the patriarchal
families, then more important personages who form a kind of
senate of each "afous," or canton; finally, the "imzran," to
*634 whom the affairs of the tribe are entrusted. Thus personal am-
bitions multiply; the chances of internal conflicts increase.
619 When discord breaks out, each one calls on his brothers. By
578 courage or by ruse, "ikhs" chiefs or band chiefs grow in impor-
•[613] tance, impose themselves upon their neighbors, and speak louder
and louder in the councils of the "imzran." Here, as elsewhere,
one day they come to confiscate to their advantage the power of
an assembly, which meets only in their house, and whose opinions
[554] from then on retain only a consultative value. It is at this time
that they are greeted with the title of "amghar."

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1. Cf. our study on the Ida Ou Tanan, *Revue des Études islamiques*, 1927, pp. 223-247.

/289 cont./

*634 This "amghar" has only a house similar to that of the other
• 613 notables, scarcely decorated with two whitewashed borjs. All
682 his strength is in that of his "brothers," members of his "ikhs" or
of his village. They help him make his enemies disappear, for,
[697] like the amghar of the high valleys of the Seksawa, the one of
the Ida Ou Tanan does not have a prison for keeping them near
him. Therefore he kills his adversaries in ambushes, or sometimes,
like the amghar Akherraz of the Aït Ou ᶜAzzoun, he
seizes them, ties their feet and hands, and has them /290/ hurled
into the void from the edge of the mountains, whose abrupt cut
*634 dominates the country. At the same time that he asserts his
613 domination, his "ikhs" increases ceaselessly, and at present we
see the one of the amghars of the Aït Tinkert, the Aït Ouazghi,
form by its importance and wealth a veritable "afous" or canton,
thanks to the fortune acquired by its chiefs for a century.

*634 Here there is no leff that can serve the amghar's ambitions.
616 But throughout Berbère /Berber/ country there are discords of
cantons and of families that one can fan in order to draw ad-
[578] vantages from it. With the money raised by "frida" or gained
from pillage, the new chief's party is recruited by the chance of circumstances or of local rivalries. The amghar constitutes his leff himself, crushes the defeated, tames the hostile notables, and, according to the strong Berbère /Berber/ expression: "he mounts them," as one mounts horses or mules, he makes them work for his gain. When he has become strong enough for people to seek his protection internally and his alliance externally, his fortune is made. His authority is recognized by all; he modifies at his pleasure the scales of fines, imposes sanctions as he pleases, without consulting custom. One sees assassins and thieves, threatened by the inflas of the neighboring "afous," come to beg for his support, to offer sacrifices at his door, and to obtain a stop to the pursuits, for the payment of a fine, which unmistakably resembles a gift and which enlarges his war chest.

It seems that in this region the absence of stable and balanced leffs that form an already prepared war organization obliges the chief who wants to assert himself to intervene more

/292 cont./

*631 131 XI. The minor chiefs of the oases of the South. -- One might be tempted to regard the minor chiefs of the desert oases that exist on the south versant of the Anti-Atlas, in the Moyen-Dra /Middle Dra/ and the Dadès, at the boundary of the country inhabited by the sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ of the mountains of the Sous, as amghars similar to the ones whose appearance and first successes we have just studied here.

*631 642 It seems, however, that in this region other influences are being exerted, of a quite different nature, which favor the establishment and consolidation of that "despotic power" described so well by de Foucauld (2).

2. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, pp. 111, 127, 128, 131, 145.

*631 *634 177 The social milieu, in fact, appears to be more propitious for the persistence of large families in the vicinity of the Sahara. Among the Zenaga, the Ida Ou Blal, the ᶜAït Amer, the Mesgita, where small dynasties of amghars have been firmly established for long generations, Arab influences are numerous, and the hereditary transmission of command is one of the most constant characteristics of the social organization of the nomad groups (3).

3. G. Marçais, Les Arabes en Berbérie /The Arabs in Barbary/, pp. 704, 705.

•613 554 675 Besides, there exist in these regions other institutions whose role easily explains the importance assumed by the heads of the "ikhs," powerful and brave: individual protection and vassalage. Near the desert the necessities of trade and travel in fact lead to the conclusion of pacts with notables capable of having the life and property of foreigners respected; these are true contracts, to which the name of "debiha" is given, and the power of a sheik is measured by the number of "debiha" that he possesses, whether he has accepted them directly or inherited them.

175 /343 cont./
*631 crushing power of the new domination (1).
712

1. Casbah of Taliwin of the Souktana.

*631 VIII. The companions of the great chief. -- For the administration
*634 of the conquered tribes, the independent amghar depends
602 at the beginning on the notables and the members of the jemaᶜa
●613 of the small canton of which his father was formerly the chief. It
is within these "ikhs," faithfully attached to his family from the
beginning, that he chooses most especially the functionaries of
the little state that he has created. He has found among them
first of all the expedition leaders and the loyal mokhaznis,
charged with forcibly keeping the conquered villages in submission.
*631 When his power is confirmed by the Sultan, he soon tries
*634 to find among these earliest companions a cadi who will be able
693 to render justice favorable to the interests of the new government.
[648] This scholar, who at the same time will be the /344/ kaid's secretary,
[671] will most often prove to be the resolute enemy of the Berbère /Berber/ customary law, whose roots go down into a dangerous
past of democratic institutions. He will settle most of the
disputes according to his master's instructions, and the infallible
justice of the holy book will serve to legitimize in all circumstances
the decisions of the temporal leader. Sometimes, too,
*631 according to the rank of the plaintiffs or the personal interest that
*634 the kaid takes in the settling of affairs, justice will be rendered,
[692] without any formality, by the makhzen /makhzan/ leader himself,
seated on the threshold of his house. To free himself from all the
petty affairs that give no profit, the kaid will choose a caliphate
and a "mchaouri" /see "mechaouri," p. 440/, a kind of close
advisor, information agent, and intermediary, charged besides
with the command of his personal guard.

*631 The casbah, which has become a caravansary, fortress, storehouse,
712 and castle at the same time, is administered by an "amin,"
*634 who is both major-domo and keeper of the provisions. The innumerable
[574] guests who crowd together in the courtyard and stay
sometimes for a long time while waiting for an audience with the

/395 cont./

105 II. The large commands of the Atlas. -- The conditions
*631 under which the power of the chiefs of the Atlas is formed in our
time is explained, as we have said, by simple laws; it will suffice
for us, /396/ in order to bring them to light, to recall briefly the
various stages of their conquest of the tribes.

105 At the beginning of the last century, several hundred little
*631 republics, united among themselves by two chains of alliances,
*634 make up an immense chessboard that covers the greater part of
the mountains and thus delimits the region in which the long
616 game, whose stake is the liberty of the Berbères /Berbers/, is
going to begin between the assemblies, the amghars, and the
Makhzen /makhzan/.

105 At the outset, in the small canton where equilibrium is
realized among the heads of all the large families, of all the
*634 "ikhs" that share the benefits of the local government, several
578 ambitious ones appear, who think that their greater strength
•613 merits them a larger part of the profits; soon two parties form and
confront each other; the winner takes the title of "amghar" and
replaces the oligarchy of family heads by the tyranny of a single
one.

105 In this minuscule territory of a small tribal fraction, in this
*634 "taqbilt" where the domination of one "ikhs" over the others is
thus established, the new chief feels the urgent necessity of main-
182 taining the union that he has realized for a moment by internal
619 force by reviving external wars. Thanks to the ancient alliances
726 concluded between the small republics of the country, he easily
manages to extend his influence afar, and soon he undertakes to
subject a veritable tribe to his will. If he succeeds in defeating
[616] the chief of the opposite alliance, he places the enemy "taqbilt"
under the yoke of his leff, and with the support of his canton of
origin he organizes, in various forms, the exploitation of a tribe
by a canton.

105 If fortune continues to favor the victorious amghar, one then
*634 sees him try to subjugate, with the help of contingents that he has
619 raised in the tribe of which he has become the uncontested master,
*631 extensive territories in the plains; entire confederations pay tax to
726

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

TABLE II

Basic Units of Social Traditional Organization Among the Berber-speakers of Morocco

Social Units	Berber Ethnic Groups			
	Shluh	Beraber	Riffian	Zenata
Nuclear Family	*Taka, takat,* *kanoun* ("hearth")	*kanoun* ("hearth")	*nubth* ("turn")	
Patrilineal Extended Family	*tigemmi,* *adouar*	*adham* ("bone"), *rif* ("edge")	*azwar* ("vein" or "penis"), *sajghu,* *jil*	*tighssat*
Minor Lineage (constituting either a village or a village segment)	*ikhs* ("bone"), *afus* ("hand")	*asoun, tigemmi* or *adouar,* *tighst*	*ikhs* ("bone"), *tarfiqth*	*ikhs* ("bone")
Major Lineage or Commune (usually constituted of both related and unrelated lineages)	*mouda* ("village, place")	*ikhs* ("bone"), *fakhda*	*arrba* ("fourth"), *fariqath*	*lferqa*
District	*taqbilt* ("district") *khums* ("fifth")	*khums* ("fifth")	*rebaa* ("fourth"), *khums* } ("fifth") *thakhammasth* }	*rebaa* ("fourth")
Tribe	*taqbilt*	*taqbilt,* *qabila*	*zokoir,* *thakabitch,* *qabila*	*taqbilt*
Confederation	(no name)	(no name)	(no name)	*idrasen*

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some other part of the country. If he stops among the Riffians or 596
Shluh he may hire himself out to a landowner in a village; among 597
the Beraber he may put himself under the protection of an influential 735
member by sacrificing a sheep in front of his protector's house or 609
tent as a shame compulsion. In either case he resides with the extended family and contributes his labor; he does not become a member with inheritance rights, however, unless he marries into the extended family with the authorization of the council of elders. This custom of enlarging the household through "adoption" was particularly important in the periods of vendatta warfare, allowing a family to replenish its possibly decimated ranks (Coon, 1931, pp. 90-91; Montagne, 1930, pp. 43-44; Spillman, 1936, p. 44; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 520-528, 535-536).

c. *Minor Lineages*

Those extended families which can trace their descent through 613
the male line form a common ancestor six or eight generations
removed form a minor lineage (minor in the sense that larger
lineages may occur). In most Berber tribes this is the largest unit
to be based on blood alone. The minor lineage is known among the [192]
Shluh as an *ikhs* (pl. *ikhsan*; "bone") or *afus* (pl. *ifassen*; "hand") (Adam, 1951, pp. 39, 69; Berque, 1955, pp. 30-40; Doutté, 1905, p. 8; Montagne, 1930, pp. 43-44, 151; Querleux, 1915, p. 21); as an *asoun* (pl. *issoun*), *tigemmi* (pl. *tigumma*, "house"), or *adouar* (pl. *idouaren*; from Arabic *douar*, "camp circle") among the Beraber (Abes, 1917, pp. 187-188; Deverdun, 1952, p. 312; Querleux, 1915, p. 22); as an *ikhs* or *tarfiqth* (pl. *tarfiqin*) among the Riffians (Coon, 1931, p. 90; Hart, 1954, pp. 60-63); and as an *ikhs* among the Zenata (Marcy, 1929, p. 138). It has been variously designated in the literature as a "family" (Doutte, 1905, Montagne, 1930; Querleux, 1915), a "village-segment" or *hauma* (Coon, 1931, Montagne, 1930), a "village" (Coon, 1931), or a "clan" (Abes, 1917; Hart, 1954; Quer-
leux, 1915). The minor lineage may, under certain conditions, con- [621]
stitute a village-segment, and under other conditions, a village –
the correspondence of such a kinship group with such a population focus being a matter of great variability and confusion. It is not, however, a clan, for it is endogamous under most circumstances,

and may sometimes be only semi-localized (see Murdock, 1949, pp. 65-78, for a definition of a clan).

Among the Berbers the minor lineage characteristically consists of from two to four extended families which trace their origin from a common ancestor, and which usually reside in more or less close proximity. The minor lineage forms a geographical and administrative unit, is represented in the public eye by its wealthy elders, and derives its name from its founding ancestor, its locality or location, or from some geographical landmark (Deverdun, 1942, p. 304).

In the Riffian tribe of Beni Uriaguel (99) the minor lineage is a collection of widely scattered households forming part of a diffuse "village", a situation which has been described by Hart:

> ... A *thārfiqth* may have a depth of five to nine generations from its ancestral head to its youngest living members; it may number some 200 living people, distributed through ten to twenty households. In general, it constitutes a separate barrio or *hauma* in a village; its political existence as such is undeniable, for the village council members (*izdifen*, sing., *azdif*, "head") are the elders of each *thārfiqth*. Not all of these elders are kin, however, for it is unusual, as we shall see, for all the *thārfiqin* in one village to be related to each other.
>
> Preferred marriage takes the form of exogamy between the *ijūjgha* [extended families] and endogamy within the *thārfiqth* [minor lineage]. Instances of parallel or cross cousin marriages of the Arab pattern may be spotted in most large genealogies, but they are rare; on the other hand, exogamous marriages into other *thārfiqin* in the same village or in the same political section are frequently contracted. Marriages into other political sections or into other tribes are less common; these are usually contracted by men of influence for political reasons and in the old days such unions formed the basis of a complicated network of alliance systems called *liff* (pl. *lifūf*)...

The *thārfiqth* is bound together not only by recognized kinship ties, but by those of common interest as well. The strongly cohesive character of the group as a social and an economic unit is reinforced by the institution of the levirate, in which a man marries his brother's widow, and by that of the sororate, in which a widower marries his wife's sister; but there is no sororal polygyny, which is forbidden by Islâm. The frequency with which the levirate, in particular, occurs can probably be correlated with the prevalence of blood feuds in the Rif; it was a strong factor in reducing to a minimum disturbances of equilibrium within the group caused by the loss of one of its members. Polygyny in Aith Wuryâghil appears to [have] been more often a result of the function of

> the levirate than a matter of personal choice, for most Wuryāghlis are monogamous through economic necessity; the only cases of polygynous marriages which I know of personally are generally speaking, those of important tribal functionaries: *jaris*, *muqaddams*, *shaikhs*, *qā'ids* and *qaḍis*...
>
> The size and power of the *thārfiqth* is augmented by landless strangers who have emigrated from their own villages or tribes or fled from them because of some crime they have committed. These strangers contract work as *ikhammāsen* for the *jājghū* heads, and in time they may marry the latters' daughters. In this case the incipient *jājghū* which is formed when children are born is matronymic, taking the name of its mother rather than of its father because of his lack of prestige; rules of residence are then matrilocal, by the same token. Although a *jājghū* of this type could take no part in the governmental activities of the village in which it was located, it had to assume as full responsibilities as the other native *ijūjgha* in time of war. As many of the new *ijājgha* considered this an unfair arrangement, they often broke away from the parent *thārfiqth* to found the nuclei of new *thārfiqin* of their own...
>
> In the Wuryāghli sense of being a "whole family", the internal solidaity of the *thārfiqth* is greatly strengthened not only by the kin ties of the native members, but by the fictional relationship of the stranger accretions as well. Thus, while the individual *ijūjgha* of a *thārfiqth* may be small in number of personnel, the *thārfiqth* of a whole can usually supply some fifty men of age to fast during Ramaḍān, therefore being capable of bearing arms in addition. It was the *thārfiqth* and not the *jājghū* which functioned as the unit of vengeance, as the unity of the whole family was an absolute necessity for its continued existence... (Hart, 1954, pp. 60-62).

613 Among the Shluh the minor lineage is of equal importance, and
[171] many of the features described for the Riffians also hold true.
613 However, the complex and almost haphazard connection between
621 a minor lineage and a village, or part of a village, is particularly prominent. An *ikhs* may constitute part of a hamlet or village, together with other such units; it may constitute an entire village by itself; or parts of it may be distributed through several villages, sharing these with other lineages. No set pattern apparently exists, and there is no close relationship between this pattern and the political or administrative units. This situation is reflected by great confusion in the sources – a confusion which can be best be avoided by carefully differentiating between units defined primarily by kinship (though also by geographical proximity in the higher levels), and

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

those defined by common residence in a nucleated or semi-nu- 613
cleated community. A common approach to the problem is that 621
illustrated by Montagne, who distinguished five units for the south- 114
ern and central Shluh: the extended family, the minor lineage (*ikhs*), 596
the *mouda* or "sous-fraction", the fraction or canton, and the tribe. 613
The distinction between kinship unit and community unit is not 621
made, however. 634
635

> Les unités sociales les plus faciles à définir sont les plus petites et il est particulièrement aisé d'observer la vie du hameau, du village et de la sous-fraction dont l'activité se trouve limitée aux circonstances de l'existence quotidienne. 000
>
> Dans toute la montagne des Masmouda, la plupart des habitants des vallées vivent groupés en petits hameaux de vingt à trente feux, construits sur les pentes ensoleillées ou sur un piton détaché ou une roche élevée, en un lieu propice à la défense. Chaque hameau, "tadchert", est habituellement peuplé de deux ou trois groupes familiaux, auxquels on donne le nom d' "Ikhs". Ce sont là, nous l'avons vu, de petites unités patriarcales et agnatiques formées par les fils et les petits-fils d'un même père, vivant plus ou moins dans l'indivision, augmentées souvent par des apports étrangers.
>
> Il arrive d'ailleurs souvent que chaque "ikhs" occupe un groupe séparé de maisons. Le hameau prend parfois le nom d'un lieu-dit ou d'un accident topographique… Souvent, aussi, c'est le nom de la famille qui l'emporte sur celui du lieu habité….
>
> Trois ou quatre hameaux rapprochés les uns des autres, ou un gros village, comme ceux qui existent parfois à la partie supérieure des oueds, au voisinage des riches pâturages des sommets, forment généralement une unité à laquelle on donne souvent dans cette région le nom de "mouda'", et que nous appelons dans notre terminologie administrative la sous-fraction. Une "mousquée du vendredi" où les étrangers de passage viennent demander l'hospitalité, un "agadir" ou magasin collectif, dans les régions où cette institution s'est conservée, et surtout l'existence d'une "jema'a", assemblée de tous les hommes en état de porter les armes, telles sont les institutions du "mouda'"… (Montagne, 1930, pp. 151-152).

Berque, speaking from his experiences among the Seksawa (559) of the western High Atlas, presents a somewhat different analysis of a situation in which the *mouda* is perhaps somewhat variant.

> La forme de l'habitat est celle du "hameau" *lmud'a* aux maisons soudées, opposant à la menace externe un périmètre sans fissure. L'aggloméhappy

boys, both situated in a tent at the circle's center. Among the Beraber the minor lineage is a particularly cohesive unit, with a strong *esprit de corps* and sense of common origin and destiny. The minor lineage of the Zenata is closely similar to that of the Beraber (Abes, 1917, pp. 187-188; Deverdun, 1942, pp. 312-313; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 151-152; Marcy, 1929, p. 138; Querleux, 1915, pp. 21-22; Spillman, 1936, pp. 44-45).

As among the Riffians and Shluh, Beraber marriage is usually [613]
endogamous within the minor lineage and always exogamous with [582]
respect to the extended family. The minor lineage exogamy that does occur is usually contracted for political purposes (Abes, 1917, pp. 187-188; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 151; Spillman, 1936, pp. 44-45).

Berber kinship structures, as illustrated among the Shluh, Ber- 611
aber, Riffians, and Zenata, are characterized by patrilineal descent, 591
patrilocal residence, and some degree of territorial localization of
the descent group. The most widespread kin group is customarily 582
endogamous; marriage with adopted strangers is allowed, however, 591
and is associated with temporary matrilineal descent. In the kin- 611
ship terminology (known in detail only from the Riffians) the pattern 601
is that of Murdock's Sudanese type; the father's sister's daughter and mother's brother's daughter being called by different terms and distinguished from sisters, parallel cousins, aunts, and nieces. Aunt
and niece terms are both bifurcate collateral. Marriage is usually 595
monogamous, but polygyny is allowed (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 136a-138; Murdock, 1949, pp. 41-64, 238-239).

The minor lineage is generally followed by, and is part of, a larger 613
unit which we may designate as a "major lineage" or "commune". Usually not all of the lineages which constitute this larger unit are related, for the Berber kinship system is not typically a segmentary one in the sense, for example, that Nuer lineages are segmentary – a clan being composed of related maximal lineages; each of these of related major lineages; each of these of minor lineages; and each of these of minimal lineages. Above the Berber minor lineage, affiliation usually comes to be reckoned partly by kinship and partly be geographical proximity. However, some Beraber groups do give evidence of segmentation. The basic unit superior to the minor

lineage here does often seem to be based primarily upon descent and may be considered a major lineage. Furthermore, lineage structures intermediate between the minor and major lineages are indicated for the Beni Mtir (231-232) (the *tighst*, pl. *tighsatin*) and for the Ait Ouallal tribe (475) of the Ait Atta (see Table III; and Abes, 1917, p. 189; Evans-Pritchard, 1940, pp. 192-205; Spillman, 1936, p. 47).

613 d. *Commune or Major Lineage*

621 The minor lineages of the Berbers, as has been indicated above, come together to form a larger group which may be designated as [192] a "commune". Among the Shluh this unit is commonly termed a *mouda* ("locality"), or sometimes a *jema'a* (Doutté, 1905; Montagne, 1930, p. 151); the Beraber designate it as a *fakhda* ("division") or as an *ikhs* (pl., *ikhsan* or *ikhusas*) (Abes, 1917, p. 188; Quelreux, 1915, p. 22; Spillman, 1936, p. 44); the Riffians as *fariqath* or as *arrba* (pl., *roboa'*, from the Arabic *rebaa*, "fourth") (Coon, 1931, p. 91; Hart, 1954, p. 66); and the Zenata as *lferqa* (from *el ferqa*, [114] "eighth") (Marcy, 1929, pp. 138-139). In the anthropological literature this unit has been designated as a "canton" (Coon, 1931; Hart, 1954), "sous-fraction" (Deverdun, 1942; Montagne, 1930; Querleux, 1915), "sous-groupes", or "grands *ikhs*" (Berque, 1955).

In most cases the commune is not simply a lineage, for, although most of its component lineages may feel themselves to be related, [171] others are not. Among the Riffians, for example,

> ... the *canton* [i.e., commune] is a group of *bones* [minor lineages] which may or may not be related in blood; it occupies a single geographical unit-area, such as a valley with its contiguous mountains up to their crests. Relationship between the *bones* composing a *canton* depends on whether or not the *bone* of oldest standing has split to form other groups, and whether or not immigrant *bones* have entered or been formed by the enlargement of *veins* [extended families] descended from strangers. In most *cantons* one finds both related and unrelated *bones*. Loyalty within the *canton* is seldom very strong, and in many if not most instances wars have been fought within *cantons*... (Coon, 1931, pp. 91-92).

This is essentially the same definition of a commune as given by Montagne (see p. 53, above) for the Shluh.

Among the sedentary tribes the importance and function of the 613 621
commune varies greatly depending upon circumstances, particularly 184
upon the nature and independence of the community units.
Among the Haha (530-541) the settlement pattern is one of widely
dispersed households, and nucleated communities are rare; furthermore
all the minor lineages within a commune are generally related
so that the commune is often equivalent to a major lineage. Under 613
these circumstances the interest and requirements of the commune 621
prevail over those of its component units, and the solidarity of the
group is manifested by its sense of common origin, unity, and of
h'orma or "honor" – the violation of which by an outsider sanctions
a vendetta. The commune has a special mosque, a communal [346]
granary, a communal cemetery, and communal property such as [343]
that surrounding the settlements, pastureland, and brushwood [764]
forests (where the members obtain their cooking wood and where [423]
they can attempt to grow a crop of barley if they wish to gamble on [313]
unirrigated land). The commune is also characterized by a representative
council, and an elected or appointed chief; its principal [623]
functions are the maintenance of the communal mosque as a religious [622]
center, a school, and a communal center; the maintenance of the granary; the maintenance of the cemetery and its enclosure, and the distribution of lots to the member families; the arbitration and adjudication of boundary and property disputes between its members; the division of inheritances; the maintenance or lodging of strangers; the distribution of irrigation water; the policing of cultivated fields and of fruit trees; the planning and regulation of communal labor for plowing, harvesting, forest clearing, or irrigation works; and providing officials for certain domestic ceremonies, particularly weddings (Doutté, 1905).

In situations where villages have assumed most purely local administrative functions, the commune – and the larger unit, the district – concerns itself more with problems of political stability – adjudicating and arbitrating disputes between its component units, administering the commune market, and generally maintaining the peace. Hart's description of the commune (*fariqath*) among the Beni Uriaguel (99), who have well-developed village organizations, reflects this difference in emphasis:

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> 000 ... In the minds of the tribepeople the *fariqath* is ultimately a descent grouping the members of which are related by blood, although the genealogical steps leading back to the common ancestor (if there was a common ancestor) are no longer traceable. We can find elements of one *fariqath* in the territory of another, and in only about half of these divisions, principally those in the southern mountains, the most homogeneous part of the tribal territory, do we see that the tribal and administrative concepts of the *fariqath* coincide. The importance of this group is political rather than social, because there are always some *thărfiqin* within the cantonal territory which are not related to the others by blood. In general, ties which hold the members of a canton [i.e., commune] together are largely those of common interests: on Fridays they all go to the principal cantonal mosque (*thamzida n khuṭbath*) to pray and to listen to the sermon preached by the *faqīh*. Blood relationship between the members of a canton, however tenuous it may be, nevertheless helps to keep peace, and cantonal wars have usually been heaviest in those cantons which show a greater mixture of various elements... (Hart, 1954, p. 66).

621 It should be noted that in some small tribes, communes are absent,
613 all local social and political functions being assumed by the minor
lineages and the village organizations (Berque, 1955, p. 65).

000 The commune or *ikhs* of the Beraber may at times be equivalent to a major lineage, with all of its components tracing descent from a common ancestor; usually, however, some of the lineages are unrelated to others, and the unit is held together more by sense of geographical proximity and common destiny than by relationship. The sense of unity is symbolized by the use of the term "brother" between the male members. The autonomy of the individual lineages is so strong, however, that these may join another commune, or even another tribe, if they so desire. The commune affirms its existence, and expects loyalty from its members, only in time of common danger or crisis (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 152-153; Querleux, 1915, p. 22; Spillman, 1936, pp. 44-45).

The commune seems to have a greater significance, even if symbolic, among the Beni Ouarain (241-267) of the Zenata:

> ... L'originalité de la "ferqa" se trouve toutefois mise en relief par l'existence, à l'intérieur de chacune de ces fractions, d'un "ighss" qui revêt entre tous les autres la qualité d'"Ait A'ouwâm". Semblables aux "inflâs" [notables] du Soûs, les "Ait A'ouwâm" incarnent dans les graves occasions l'honneur de la fraction toute entière dont ils ont pour tâche

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hundred families scattered in a dozen or so dispersed hamlets or 634 three or four larger villages. In most areas of the Shluh country, these traditionally constitute practically independent republics:

> ... [The districts] are vital organisms. Small though they be they have to be considered for all practical purposes as true states. The feeling of attachment to the canton [sic] is narrowly territorial and is enhanced by the fact that in a mountain area there inevitably must be, if only for military reasons, some adjustment of the size of each social unit to the natural dimensions of hills and valleys. Nevertheless, as Robert Montagne discovered, the cantonal territories proper tend to be of fairly equal size throughout the Berber lands. For the limits of the canton do not quite coincide with the natural boundaries of these mountain habitats, but may fall short of them, a canton occupying only the space it actually requires, ignoring the more generous expanse offered by nature. This standard size of the cantons is due to organizational reasons. The cantons are ruled by assemblies (djema'a) of notables (inflas) or heads of the extended families, who are supposed to meet regularly. A day's walk over hilly terrain is therefore the canton's natural radius... (Benet, 1957, p. 191).

While the district is not traditionally an independent political unit in most other sections of the country, particularly in the Arabic-speaking plain, it still remains an important socio-political unit (Coon, 1931, p. 92; Deverdun, 1942, pp. 304-305, 313; Hart, 1954, p. 67; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, pp. 15-16).

Throughout the rural areas the districts are designated by names of imputed ancestors or founders. Thus – Ait Lhason, Ait Abdallah, Ait Mousa. The concept, present in some groups, that all the members of the district are descendants from a single ancestor, is completely fictional. One characteristic of Morocco is great [166] internal mobility in the form of temporary or permanent migrations resulting from economic pressure, epidemics, and (formerly) exile and banishment. This population movement has affected every section of the country, from the highest mountains to the coastal plain. Thus, in the district of Ait Lemsour of the Goundafa tribe 634 (589) of the High Atlas, Montagne found none of seventeen minor 613 lineages to be "aboriginal". In the neighboring Seksaoua tribe 166 (559), considered to be a very ancient group by the plains-dwellers, foreign lineages from the other tribes of the neighboring mountains, from the *Haouz* or plain of Marrakech, from the valley of the Sous,

or of the Oued Noun, are scattered pell-mell throughout the terri- 634
tory. In almost all cases this population turnover is accomplished 613
on an individual basis, individuals or families simply attaching 166
themselves to a community in new territory. In the midst of all this constant renewal of individual elements of the society, the Berber district remains unchanged in outward form or internal structure (Montagne, 1930, pp. 153-154).

f. *Tribe*

Districts are customarily grouped to form a tribe, known as a 619
taqbilt or *qabila* among the Shluh, Beraber, and Zenata (Abes, 1917, [634]
p. 189; Adam, 1951, p. 76; Doutté, 1905; Marcy, 1929, p. 139), and [192]
as a *qabila*, *zakoir*, or *thakabitch* among the Riffians (Coon, 1931, p. 92; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, p. 16).

In contrast to the commune and district, the tribe is a creature of sentiment and attitude, lacking any concrete character or any overt political institutions. It is a territorial unit, the criteria of affiliation being residence within a definite area (though in some cases the boundaries of this area may not be strictly defined). It has a name implying group descent from a common legendary ancestor – an implication usually denied by the tribespeople themselves. Its members recognize a tribal patron saint, common traditions, and sometimes a tribal flag. However, its members do not customarily function as a unit except under circumstances of common danger.

g. *Confederation*

A number of neighboring tribes may feel an affinity through reasons of common interest, history, or residence, and may constitute a vague unit known as a sub-confederation, confederation, or super-confederation, depending upon the exact shade of relationship (see Table III, for examples of structuring). Such confederation units are of little political significance except in case of attack by an outside group. They are largely lacking among the tribes of the Jebala, northeastern Morocco, the central High Atlas, and the Anti-Atlas, but are well developed among the coastal tribes near Rabat (Deverdun, 1942, p. 306; Montagne, 1930, pp. 164-169).

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minor lineage council) was composed of two or three boys from each of the extended families claiming descent from the common founder of the minor lineage. These boys were chosen by the members of the comune council (the "council of the great"), supposedly by virtue of their superior intelligence and promise of future ability. These junior notables followed the general pattern governing council conduct – electing a *moqaddem* (pl. *moqaddemin*; "moderator"), meeting in the village mosque, and judging minor cases brought before them. Their elders saw to it that their decisions were enforced. Since Coon also found many cases in which village councils were absent, it seems reasonable to conclude that in this region, at least, the institution did not serve an important function.

613 Each of the social units existing above the minor lineage or village
621 customarily has its own representative council composed of repre-
623 sentatives or delegates from the inferior social unit (usually this is
635 equivalent to a delegate from the council of the inferior unit). Thus
634 the *jemaa* of the commune consists of representatives from each minor lineage council; the *jemaa* of the district may consist of representatives from each commune or village; and the *jemaa* of the tribe, of representatives from each district. In the Rif, however, the district council is absent (this is also the case, naturally, among those Beraber groups in which the district is not present), and the tribal council is composed of representatives from each commune or village (Coon, 1931, pp. 96-98; Loubignac, 1942, p. 280; Montagne, 1930, pp. 219-221).

Among the *ksar*-dwellers of southern Morocco the institution of the *jemaa* shows considerable modification. In Ksar Nesrat, for example, superimposed councils are absent – instead the tribal government is embodied in a single bicameral organization composed of a superior assembly (*Jemaa el Kebira*) and an inferior assembly (*Jemaa el 'amma*). The seats within the superior assembly are the property of the noble extended families within each of the seven division of the *ksar* (these divisions are probably morphologically equivalent to major lineages or communes – see Table III), and are filled by representatives selected by each of these noble families. Each division is therefore represented in proportion to the number of its noble families. Once designated, the councillors

635 666 527 lasting for four days, are marked by various forms of entertainment, with banquets playing a leading role. Only after the conclusion of the festivities does the tribal council turn to the task of selecting the new tribal leader (Loubignac, 1942, p. 282).

635 666 [643] To ensure strict equality between the various divisions of the tribe each is called upon in turn to designate a member as a candidate for tribal chief – while if the office is that of supreme chief over the many tribes of a single confederation (this chief being appointed sometimes in time of war) those divisions having the privilege of making nominations are selected by lot. Once elected the appointee is theoretically prevented from rejecting the proferred honor by a sense of moral obligation – a sense reinforced in some tribes by the threat of sanctions. Nevertheless, there is in practice always some resistance to the appointment, for the office carries with it great responsibility and heavy expenses (Loubignac, 1942, p. 283).

635 631 After his succession to office the new *amghar* carries out two measures which are indispensable for the effective exercise of his authority. First, he appoints from among the notables of each division one who is to act as the "respondant" or "guarantor" for that division – this respondant being responsible for the conduct of the members of the division, for the execution of orders given by the
[621] *amghar*, and for the application of sanctions if necessary. The res-
[613] pondant of each division or fraction in turn designates repondants in every commune over which he has jurisdiction, and these commune respondants in turn designate respondants for each village or
[182] minor lineage. This system of command and of delegation of authority assures the execution of orders given by the *amghar*, but also acts to promote the autonomy of the smaller social units, for the minor respondants and council members take care of all local problems in their own way without interference from the tribal *amghar*. The second step carried through by the *amghar* is to revise and enlarge the schedule of fines so as to encourage obedience to his promulgations (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 227; Loubignac, 1942, p. 283).

635 554 In the traditional democratic Berber republic the duties of the *amghar* are often poorly defined, for they often duplicate those still